



122 Maryland Avenue, N.E.

Washington, D.C. 20002

(202) 544-5380

IPS REGISTRY

F99-0825  
11-07 (H. and.)

In reply, refer to C-56

18 October 1977

Gene F. Wilson  
CIA Freedom of Information Coordinator  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear Mr. Wilson:

This is a request under the Freedom of Information Act as amended (5 U.S.C. §552).

I write to request copies of all correspondence between the CIA and authors or publishers concerning CIA subsidization of the publication of books or other printed material of that nature. I am interested in any such correspondence in the last five years.

As you know, the amended Act provides that if some parts of a file are exempt from release that "reasonably segregable" sections shall be provided. I therefore request that, if you determine that some portions of the requested materials are exempt, you provide me with a copy of the remainder of the file. I, of course, reserve my right to appeal any such deletions.

If you determine that any or all of the requested material is exempt from release, I would appreciate your advising me as to which exemption(s) you believe cover the information you are not releasing.

As you know, the amended Act permits you to reduce or waive the fees if that "is in the public interest because furnishing the information can be considered as primarily benefitting the public." I believe this request plainly fits that category and ask you to waive any fees.

If you have any questions regarding this request, please telephone me at 544-5380.

As provided for in the Act, I will expect a reply within ten working days.

Sincerely,

*Monica Andres*

Monica Andres

copy: William Alfred Kern

11-07 02 100

4  
ARTICLE 1222222  
ON PAGE 5

# Campaign Launched To End CIA's Secret Activities

The Campaign to Stop Government Spying and two of its member organizations, the American Civil Liberties Union and the Center for National Security Studies, announced recently that they are launching a nationwide effort to end the CIA's operations on college campuses which the Church Committee asserted in its final report raise "troubling questions as to the preservation of the integrity of American academic institutions." In conjunction with this coordinated effort, the ACLU filed suit recently against the CIA for documents relating to the CIA's operational use of the academic community.

Morton H. Halperin, chairperson for the Campaign to Stop Government Spying, called upon universities across the country to adopt academic guidelines for CIA activities on campus, following those put into effect at Harvard University and endorsed by the ACLU national board at its June 19 meeting.

The Harvard guidelines, according to Halperin, contain the first authoritative description of the CIA's current

recruitment activities on university campuses which was at the heart of the Church Committee's concern. The Harvard report describes this process as follows:

The second method of recruitment involves the use of individuals who may be professors, administrators or possibly students and who have an ongoing and confidential relationship with the CIA as recruiters. The job of these covert recruiters is to identify for the CIA members of the community, including foreign students, who may be likely candidates for an employment or other relationship with the CIA on a regular basis. Although we are not certain how the recruiting process works, we understand that when the recruiter believes that a likely candidate has been identified, the name of the candidate is reported to the CIA, which then conducts a background check on the individual and creates a file with the information it obtains. Neither the recruiter nor the CIA informs the individual at this stage that he or she is being considered for employment on other pur-

poses by the CIA. Both the Harvard and ACLU guidelines condemn secret recruitment. They require that all of those who regularly recruit for the CIA publicly identify themselves, and that names not be supplied to the CIA without the consent of the individuals concerned. Other aspects of the Harvard guidelines include limits on contacts with the CIA, a ban on intelligence operations and preparations of reports known to be misleading or untrue. The Harvard guidelines also ask the CIA to avoid the unwitting use of any member of the academic community.

The ACLU lawsuit, stemming from a Freedom of Information Act request submitted by John Marks of the Center for National Security Studies last December, asks for all written materials on universities which the CIA made available to the House and Senate Committees on Intelligence, and the Rockefeller Commission. It also includes a request by Halperin for the CIA's internal directives dealing with the operational use of individuals with

in the academic community, which the CIA has refused to release.

As part of the overall campaign to end CIA's abuse of the academic community, letters will be sent on behalf

of the Campaign to Stop Government Spying, the Center for National Security Studies, and the ACLU Academic Committee to university presidents, asking them to appoint committees to consider the role of CIA on their campus, and to adopt guidelines similar to those endorsed by Harvard for its faculty. These groups will also call on the CIA to agree to abide by the guidelines.

Orig. in C.U.

Orig. sent for  
National Security  
Service

Orig. in Academic

ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE A22

THE NEW YORK TIMES  
1 JULY 1977

ORG 1 Academics

ORG 1 ACLU

ORG 1 Center for  
~~National Security~~  
Studies

### Academic Intelligence

The Central Intelligence Agency has always found college teachers a valuable resource. Some are specialists in areas that touch on the national security. Some have contacts in other countries from whom they pick up interesting tidbits of information. Some are willing to recruit for the C.I.A. in their classrooms. The agency has for years maintained relations with academics on more than 100 campuses. But professors have periodically been embarrassed by revelations of their extracurricular activities and critics have wondered about the subverting effects of a teacher's covert connection to the C.I.A.

A set of guidelines, drawn up by the American Civil Liberties Union and the Center for National Security Studies, addresses the matter in a reasoned way. It would require faculty member to report to his dean any contracts with the C.I.A. for research, information from abroad, or recruiting. No student's name would be conveyed to the C.I.A. without his approval. Scholars would not be permitted directly to gather intelligence or to spread propaganda.

Harvard adopted similar guidelines several weeks ago. They clear a path for teachers to serve their country openly and within sensible limits. Other schools should take heed of this intelligent academic's guide to intelligence.

# RADIO TV REPORTS, INC.

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*ORCA / Academics*  
*Center for National*  
*Security Studies*  
*ACIU*

FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM The Daily Drum STATION WHUR-FM Radio  
 HOWARD UNIVERSITY  
 DATE June 29, 1977 6:15 PM CITY Washington, D. C.  
 SUBJECT CIA Recruitment Investigated

BENJAMIN JOHNSON: A lawsuit has been filed seeking to make public the recruiting activities of the CIA. One of the groups filing the suit is the Washington based Center for National Security Studies.

Spokesperson Christie Massey said the Center is especially concerned about the CIA's recruiting activities on college campuses.

CHRISTIE MASSEY: We will be focusing on a number of ones that have -- certainly have a number of foreign students, and also with certainly a number of them with high numbers of black students, because the CIA is getting more interested in recruiting black students at this time.

JOHNSON: The other organization which joined in filing the suit was the American Civil Liberties Union.

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ARTICLE 100670001  
ON PAGE 4HUMAN EVENTS  
7 MAY 1977

Badillo, Herman

## Liberals Press Bill to Wreck Intelligence Agencies

House liberals are pushing legislation that would outlaw all "political surveillance" and shut down the intelligence gathering activities of both the FBI and the CIA.

Introduced by Herman Badillo (D.-N.Y.) and a dozen of his colleagues, the bill has the all-out support of such anti-internal security groups as the American Civil Liberties Union, the Committee for Public Justice and the Center for National Security Studies.

To a significant extent, the legislation incorporates the major provisions of a proposed piece of legislation unveiled in the Nation's Capital in February by former Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark. The thrust of that measure, as HUMAN EVENTS noted in its March 19 issue, was said to be looked upon with some favor by various persons in the Justice Department and on the President's Domestic Council. The Badillo proposal would:

- Prohibit all electronic and "political" surveillance. What the proponents mean by this, however, is no surveillance of virtually any organization, whether or not it advocates violence or swears allegiance to a foreign country.
- Prohibit the "covert collection of foreign intelligence information abroad during peacetime...."
- Prevent the FBI from collecting information on any person unless there was evidence that the individual had already committed a crime or was about to commit one.
- Repeal the Riot Act, which permits the federal government to prosecute persons crossing state lines to promote violence, and the Smith Act, which makes it illegal to advocate the violent overthrow of the government.

"If this legislation as presently drafted is enacted into law, it will destroy the effectiveness of the FBI," says W. Raymond Wannall, who retired last year as assistant FBI director in charge of the intel-

ligence division. In an interview with Kingsbury Smith of the Hearst Newspapers, Wannall said:

"It would put the bureau out of business in intelligence-gathering, and that applies to organized crime as well as surveillance of radical political organizations and terrorist groups. It would make it impossible for the bureau to function effectively in the foreign intelligence field."

Under the Badillo bill, the FBI could not investi-



Rep. Ronald Dellums (left) (D.-Calif.) and Rep. Badillo are pushing for legislation designed to virtually destroy the intelligence gathering activities of the FBI and the CIA.

gate any individual or group unless there was evidence the person or group "has committed, is committing, or is about to commit" a federal crime. That would virtually cripple the FBI's drive against the Mafia.

"Combatting organized crime is to a great extent gathering information to prevent the commission of a crime," Wannall notes. "Under the proposed legislation, the FBI would also be prohibited from maintaining records on a suspect unless you could prove he had committed a crime or was about to commit one. This would make preventative action virtually impossible."

The Badillo bill provides that once an investigation is completed, the file will be sealed by the attorney general. Six months later, the subject would be informed that he had been under investigation and the government must give him a complete accounting of what it had learned about him.

Thus, if insufficient evidence is developed to provide an indictment, organized crime figures or potential saboteurs must nonetheless be notified that they were under investigation and precisely what the FBI had learned of their activities.

The Justice Department informs HUMAN EVENTS it has made no comment on the legislation, and even Badillo's office admits it may go too far for the department. But a lot of knowledgeable legal experts in the Justice Department and over at the White House who would like to see this bill—

Org: ACLU  
L. C. for  
Public Justice  
Org: Center for  
National Security  
Studies

Dellums, Ron

P-Sale, Richard T.  
CIA/IRAN (SAVAK)  
GRG1 Center for Nat'l  
Security Studies  
(orig under Sale)

The Shah's Secret Police

Front Page

WASHINGTON POST

9 May 1977

# SAVAK: A Feared and Pervasive Force

Second of a series.

By Richard T. Sale

Special to The Washington Post

TEHRAN, Iran—The room had the usual signs of Persian hospitality.

At its end, in front of the glass-windowed bookshelves, a low wooden table stood dressed by a colorful cloth. A stack of plates and peeling forks stood between two neat pyramids of oranges, piled like little cannonballs.

The door opened. An imprisoned couple entered. The woman was short and dark, her head covered with a cheap cotton cloth that she clutched tightly under her chin. She nodded deferentially, "Salaam." Her husband, a short man with swarthy, sallow skin, also gave a greeting.

They sat down on one side of the long central table, facing the single, close-barred window eight feet from the floor. A Mr. Vadei, the interpreter, went and sat down on the other side, facing them.

They both wore those crumpled, deliberately mis-sized blue prison denim. The interpreter wore a tailored brown tweed suit with a large flowery tie that flowed down below his belt buckle.

Vadei had elegant manners, a friendly, hearty smile that rarely dis-



appeared from beneath his bushy mustache.

"Go ahead," he said to me, "you may ask them anything you wish."

Prisons, the Iranians say, are located in every major city. In Tehran, the most important is considered to be Evin. It is said to include the chief torture facility of SAVAK, the Iranian secret service. Very few prisoners, it seems, are allowed to see close relatives, and no visitors at all are permitted.

Although it stands within two miles of the Royal Tehran Hilton, if one did not know where the prison was one would not find it.

After a right turn off the Shahan-shah (King of Kings) Expressway, the village of Evin stands on both sides of a crooked road that runs down to the bottom, there it is: a pink, brick-walled compound built so close to the foot of a mountain that it is hard to

the sight of Vadei, troops with M-16s, clad in khakis stuffed into paratroop boots and wearing red-banded caps, stiffened and stood at attention.

Vadei was once a general in the army, and SAVAK, like the national police, is in the hands of the army. The task of the police is to control the enemies of the state.

The shah constantly claims that his main opposition comes from the left, the "Red Threat"—guerrillas who get their guidance from Moscow. Yet some of his most persistent, virulent opposition continues to come from the right, from the "Black Threat" of the ordinary populace and their leaders—the Moslem clergy who claim to represent the voice of the masses.

Warfare with this Black Threat has been going on for some time.

Islam is not just a religion, it is a social order, so when the shah had his premier announce in 1962 that the religion was simply another institution, he was regarded by the mullahs as a blasphemer.

Islam was the largest landowner in the country after the shah himself. The real outrage came when the shah went to the most sacred city in Iran, Qum, and with his own hands gave private persons deeds to the mosques and land.

The bloody and widespread religious-led riots of June 1963 were the result.

"I abhor the Black reaction even more than the Red destruction," the shah said afterward. The struggle continues.

Parviz Sabeti, deputy director of SAVAK, engaged in the following exchange in an interview with me:

Question: Riding outside of Isfahan, I passed a prison on the left side of the road. I am told it was built four years ago, contains a thousand men, all of whom are political prisoners. Is that true?

Sabeti: That is right.

Question: I was told that they were religious protesters: religious leaders—mullahs.

Sabeti: True. You know that since the White Revolution, the mullahs have been against universal suffrage, the freedom of women, the distribution of the land. We have had to treat them very badly, very harshly.

The White Revolution is the label given to 12 edicts the shah promulgated providing for the nationalization of land, women, and other public health and literacy problems.

The two prisoners I met at Evin

Marxists." He claims all his enemies are "Marxists or people who call themselves 'Islamic Marxists.'"

I asked the couple how long they had been there. A year and ten days exactly, they replied.

Did their families know where they were? Vadei said the families had been notified of their arrest but had had no word since then. No date had been set for their trial.

Was there an attorney present at their interrogation? The eyes of both grew evasive. "They say yes," Vadei replied for them.

Why were they against the shah? It was she who spoke, passionately, earnestly.

"The shah is not for the benefit of the people," she said.

Vadei sat listening, keeping a slight smile, amused in back of his keen eyes.

"In the old days, there was unity between the leaders and the people," she said.

Not any more? No, she answered.

Was there also unfairness in the distribution of wealth? She hesitated.

"She asks you to repeat," said Vadei.

But there was no need. After a pause, she replied that the economic teachings of the Koran are based on respect for the sacred nature of private property. The Koran expresses definite opposition to the extreme concentration of wealth in the hands of a single person or group, she said.

Vadei broke in, smiling widely. "We see here that those who oppose use religion as a cover. They have been duped by the Marxists."

Her husband sat there. He had averted his eyes during the entire exchange.

I took their phone number and promised to call their parents to say I had seen them and they were well.

Vadei and I then took a tour through the cells of Evin. The prison has a capacity of 400. Vadei said it contained only 90 inmates at that time.

We walked down bright, empty yellow corridors with many locked, solid beige doors. High on each door was a severe steel flap with a level silver handle. Vadei occasionally yanked one open. Inside, a startled figure in blue would quickly rise to its feet. Suddenly, Vadei pulled open a flap. Viewed earlier.

19 APRIL 1977

# There's More Intelligence In Classrooms Than You Think

Despite last year's Senate Select Committee's report on Intelligence saying there was massive CIA influence in U.S. universities, the Central Intelligence Agency is still in the education business. The CIA is still funding research conducted on many of the nation's campuses, is still recruiting students and professors for extracurricular activities and is still helping foreign spy agencies keep tabs on dissident foreign students.

The full scope of CIA involvement on campuses may never be known. According to the final report of the Committee, scores of professors, administrators and graduate students are actively engaged in "open" and "clandestine" CIA work. They recruit American and foreign students, write propagandistic literature, conduct research and travel abroad using their cloak of academic status for cover.

Specifics of these operations were deleted by the CIA before the Committee released its final report, including the names of whatever individuals and institutions that had been cooperating with the CIA. And due to a Presidential order given last year, the CIA will continue to enter into "contracts and arrangements" for "classified or unclassified research... with academic institutions." It is not yet known whether or not President Carter will continue this policy.

However, an increasing number of students and faculty members throughout the country have become very vocal in their disapproval with the too-cozy relationship between the CIA and colleges. The unsavory flavor associated with a multitude of CIA activities has led several national academic associations to condemn clandestine CIA presence on campus.

Although they have received little national attention, the National Student Association, the American Association of University Professors and the Council of American Political Science Association have passed resolutions opposing any initiation by government agencies to involve academia in covert intelligence operations under the guise of academic research and have asked their members not to participate in such activities.

But for some, that is not enough. Nathan Gardel, a student attending the University of California in Los Angeles, wants to know the full extent of involvement between the CIA and the University system. He has filed for this information through the Freedom of Information Act and is currently trying to have the \$3,000 copying fee waived to get it. Gardel, however, has not stopped there.

He wants to see all correspondence between the CIA and the nine-school university system relating to the CIA recruitment drive of last year and all information about UC contracts. Gardel believes that the UC president, David Saxon, has not been entirely free with the information. Gardel explained "this is not to say he (Saxon) knows everything" but we'd like to see what he does know. At present, the CIA is openly funding weather climate research at UC San Diego. Climate warfare was used by the CIA in Vietnam and Cuba.

More recently, an alleged CIA connection with a college professor of Brooklyn College in New York has stirred controversy to the point where the faculty members of the political science department have asked for their colleague's removal from the staff.

The professor, Michael I. Selzer, has been charged by several faculty members, one of them his brother-in-law, with being associated with the CIA. In a statement to the president of the college, the department members said that because of Selzer's "admitted agreement in covert intelligence activities for the CIA, he has violated... understood, accepted statements (by national associations) and casts grave doubts of his credibility as a teacher, scholar and professional colleague... and that his actions as described warrant removal from the college."

Selzer, according to one professor, first became involved with the CIA last spring. Selzer is quoted as saying "his work for the CIA was only confined to Europe." No other details are known.

Selzer supposedly admitted his CIA connection at a recent departmental meeting. He is now

in Israel on a leave of absence but when contacted there by several New York newspapers Selzer denied that he had any contact with the CIA. He also said that he'll take legal action if dismissed and is contemplating libel charges.

A spokesperson for the college said the president, Dr. John Kneller, has already set up a committee to investigate all facts and allegations pertinent to the case and assured all that Selzer's rights would be protected.

In a prepared statement, however, Kneller said, "It is up to an individual faculty member whether he wants to establish an 'open' relation with an intelligence agency. I stress the word 'open' because I think there is no place in the academic community for a clandestine relationship of any kind."

One organization, based in Washington, D.C., is attempting to college and distribute any and all information regarding CIA-campus related activities. The Center for National Security Studies offers information, education material, pamphlets and speakers for those who wish to join in ending covert operations on campus. Write or phone Christy Macy at the Center, 122 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002, (202) 544-5380.

Org 1 Council of American Political Science Assoc

Gardel, Nathan  
CIA 2.95.1 FOIA

Org 1 Center for National Security Studies



The Director  
Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D.C. 20505

*Center for National  
Security Studies  
Macy, Christina H.  
ORGI Academics  
(original ORGI)*

7 April 1977

Ms. Christina H. Macy  
Center for National Security Studies  
122 Maryland Avenue, N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20002

Dear Ms. Macy,

STAT  
STAT  
This is to acknowledge your letter of March 31  
in response to [redacted] letter of 16 March.  
[redacted] has moved to another position.

What the new Director of Central Intelligence  
is seeking is an ethical relationship that will serve  
the mutual interests of the intelligence and academic  
communities. The main point of [redacted] letter  
was to emphasize our goal to strengthen cooperation  
between the academic community and the U.S. Intelligence  
Community to the benefit of this country. The problem  
is to define the proper and legitimate relationships  
that should exist between the two. This is an active  
concern of the Director, and I can assure you the  
matters you raise are receiving proper attention.

Sincerely,

[redacted]

STAT  
Assistant for Public Affairs  
to the Director of Central Intelligence

Approved For Release 2004/10/13 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100670001-3  
**EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT**

**Routing Slip**

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16	Asst/DCI				
17	AO/DCI				
18	C/IPS				
19	DCI/SS				
20	D/EE0				
21					
22					
SUSPENSE		Date			

Remarks: Please draft response for Admiral Turner's signature.

D/Executive Secretary  
 7 Mar 77

Date

3437 (7-79)

STAT

Center for National Security Studies

122 Maryland Avenue, N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20002  
(202) 544-5380

March 31, 1977

STAT

[Redacted]  
Asst. to the Director  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Washington, DC 20505

STAT

Dear [Redacted]

Thank you for your letter of 16 March. I regret, however, that your response did little to clarify the issues or answer the specific questions that I raised in my letter of March 4.

As I stated in that correspondence, there is a growing consensus in the academic community that on-going covert ties with the CIA are harmful to the integrity and independence of our universities, and that such activities should be disclosed publicly. I am not just referring to academic research, but to the contractual relationships between professors and the Agency for the purpose of covert recruitment. Scholars and students alike are very concerned about whether these activities are continuing, or whether the new CIA director has taken steps to end these practices.

The purpose of my March 4 letter, therefore, was to get current CIA policy on specific CIA-academic relationships having to do with research, recruitment, collaboration and production of propaganda, and the use of academics as agents overseas. I therefore request a more detailed and specific answer to my letter of March 4.

Thanking you in advance for your response,

Sincerely,

*Christina H. Macy*  
Christina H. Macy  
Associate

~~Center for National Security Studies~~

ORG 1 Academics

Macy, Christina H.

(orig under Center for...)

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

16 March 1977

DCI,

Recommend that response to the Center for National Security Studies be handled by letter from me, in order not to expose you to the continuing sterile confrontation with this outfit. The DCI should not join battle with askers of "have you issued directives to discontinue wife-beating?" type of questions. IG, as you know, is working on a brief for you on the Marks testimony in your hearing. We will also have a brief on the questions raised by Macy. The whole question of largely externally-inspired "strong concern" in universities has been handled by us in parallel with the now essentially settled matter of relations with the media, and you may wish to discuss its various aspects when you have time.

Andrew T. Falkiewicz

The Director  
Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D.C. 20505

16 March 1977

Ms. Christina H. Macy  
Center for National Security Studies  
122 Maryland Ave., N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20002

Dear Ms. Macy,

Thank you for your letter of March 4 to the Director of Central Intelligence.

I can assure you that we, like you, are interested in the matter of relations between the Central Intelligence Agency and academic institutions and personnel. Certainly we must have voluntary cooperation between scholarly institutions and personnel with agencies of government in order to assist us in providing the best possible information and assessments on foreign affairs to the President and the policymakers of our government.

None of our relationships is intended to influence either what is taught or any other aspect of a scholar's work. The complexity of our mission today requires that our academic research be strong, and we intend to keep it strong by seeking the best perspectives from the academic world.

We are pleased that you share Admiral Turner's view that no member of the academic community should be denied the right to serve his country in any legal way that he desires. We are concerned that in fact there are those who would deliberately try to embarrass or hinder persons who voluntarily and wittingly wish to work with us.

We firmly believe that the Agency, as part of the government, and the scholar, as a member of the academic community, can work together without fear of embarrassment or reproach because of relationships that are increasingly important to national policy.

Sincerely,

[Redacted signature box]

Andrew T. Falkiewicz

Assistant to the Director  
of Central Intelligence

Center for National Security Studies

122 Maryland Avenue, N.E.

Washington, D.C. 20002

(202) 544-5380

March 4, 1977

Admiral Stansfield Turner  
Director  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Washington, DC 20505

Dear Admiral Turner,

The Center for National Security Studies is concerned about the Church Committee findings on the continued covert operational use of hundreds of academics by the CIA. The Committee report concluded, as you know, with the warning that such secret activities on college campuses "undermine public confidence that those who train our youth are upholding the ideals, independence and integrity of American universities." A growing number of students, scholars, and academic associations have begun to express their strong concern over these continued abuses.

Members of the Center were heartened, therefore, when we heard your testimony before the Senate Intelligence Committee on February 22 concerning the domestic impact on institutions here at home. In response to a question by Senator Huddleston, you replied that academic institutions should not be used as tools "for propagandizing in any way", nor should the intelligence agencies request assistance "without making it clear that it is the intelligence community that is doing it." We agree with you that no one should be denied the right to work for any government agency, and that that work should be done openly and publicly. Your testimony on this issue, because of its brevity, did leave a number of important questions unanswered, however.

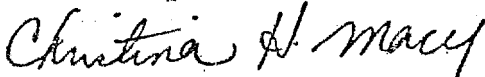
Given your statement of last week, have you issued directives that research contracts publicly acknowledge CIA sponsorship, and that all those working on the research be informed of that sponsorship? Have you directed that all contractual relationships with professors and university administrators, for recruitment purposes for example, be disclosed and placed on the public record? Have you ended the practice of CIA's secret collaboration with scholars in the writing of books and articles? Will you take steps to publish the names of the more than one thousand books that have been funded by or written by the CIA over the past thirty years? Finally, have you issued a

directive that would end the use of academics overseas as agents for the CIA. as well as the practice of such agents using academic credentials as cover for their operations abroad?

I would appreciate copies of such directives if they have been issued. If they have not. I would like to know if you intend to make any of the above changes one of your priorities. Would you support legislation similar to that recommended by the Church Committee calling for the following: the CIA be prohibited by statute from the operational use of grantees who are receiving funds through programs sponsored by the U.S. government; the CIA amend its internal directives to require that individual academics being used for operational purposes by the CIA be informed of the relationship; the CIA be prohibited by statute from subsidizing the writing or production of books, articles, or films within the United States or its territories unless publicly attributed to the CIA. Finally will you support Senate Intelligence Committee efforts to examine what further steps must be taken to insure the integrity of American academic institutions?

I look forward to receiving your responses to the above. Thank you for your consideration,

Sincerely



Christina H. Macy  
Associate

REF ID: A11111

STAT

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orig Center for National  
Security Studies

Executive Registry
77-6540

Center for National Security Studies

122 Maryland Avenue, N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20002  
(202) 544-5380

March 4, 1977

OLC #77- 0829
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Admiral Stansfield Turner  
Director  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Washington, DC 20505

Dear Admiral Turner,

The Center for National Security Studies is concerned about the Church Committee findings on the continued covert operational use of hundreds of academics by the CIA. The Committee report concluded, as you know, with the warning that such secret activities on college campuses "undermine public confidence that those who train our youth are upholding the ideals, independence and integrity of American universities." A growing number of students, scholars, and academic associations have begun to express their strong concern over these continued abuses.

Members of the Center were heartened, therefore, when we heard your testimony before the Senate Intelligence Committee on February 22 concerning the domestic impact on institutions here at home. In response to a question by Senator Huddleston, you replied that academic institutions should not be used as tools "for propagandizing in any way", nor should the intelligence agencies request assistance "without making it clear that it is the intelligence community that is doing it." We agree with you that no one should be denied the right to work for any government agency, and that that work should be done openly and publicly. Your testimony on this issue, because of its brevity, did leave a number of important questions unanswered, however.

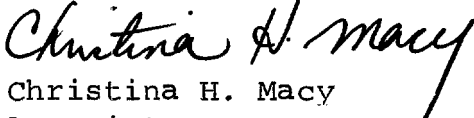
Given your statement of last week, have you issued directives that research contracts publicly acknowledge CIA sponsorship, and that all those working on the research be informed of that sponsorship? Have you directed that all contractual relationships with professors and university administrators, for recruitment purposes for example, be disclosed and placed on the public record? Have you ended the practice of CIA's secret collaboration with scholars in the writing of books and articles? Will you take steps to publish the names of the more than one thousand books that have been funded by or written by the CIA over the past thirty years? Finally, have you issued a

directive that would end the use of academics overseas as agents for the CIA as well as the practice of such agents using academic credentials as cover for their operations abroad?

I would appreciate copies of such directives if they have been issued. If they have not I would like to know if you intend to make any of the above changes one of your priorities. Would you support legislation similar to that recommended by the Church Committee calling for the following: the CIA be prohibited by statute from the operational use of grantees who are receiving funds through programs sponsored by the U.S. government; the CIA amend its internal directives to require that individual academics being used for operational purposes by the CIA be informed of the relationship; the CIA be prohibited by statute from subsidizing the writing or production of books, articles, or films within the United States or its territories unless publicly attributed to the CIA. Finally will you support Senate Intelligence Committee efforts to examine what further steps must be taken to insure the integrity of American academic institutions?

I look forward to receiving your responses to the above. Thank you for your consideration,

Sincerely,

  
Christina H. Macy  
Associate

Approved for Release 2004/10/13 : CIA-RDP88-01315R0001000670001-3

SENDER WILL CHECK CLASSIFICATION TOP AND BOTTOM

UNCLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL SECRET

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## Remarks:

For your files. Action was transferred to your office.

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# EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

## Routing Slip

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19	DCI/SS				
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SUSPENSE

Date

Remarks:

Please draft response for Admiral Turner's signature.

Approved For Release 2004/10/13 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100670001-3

February 22, 1977

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Extension

ports concerning grand jury investigations and the use of immunity orders. Requires reports in eight specified areas, set forth according to judicial district.

#### EVIDENCE

Requires the government to introduce all evidence in its possession tending to prove the innocence of a potential defendant.

Prohibits the grand jury from returning an indictment on the basis of hearsay evidence alone.

#### UTILITY BILLS SQUEEZE CONSUMERS

HON. TOM HARKIN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 22, 1977

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. Speaker, we must not forget the consumer in our discussions of the present energy crisis. Many consumers who have heeded the pleas to conserve energy have done a magnificent job only to find that their utility bills continue to climb.

One of my constituents, Mrs. Mary Ellen Godbout of Red Oak, Iowa, has written a most eloquent letter to President Carter about the need to give consumers a break.

The Godbouts have taken many steps to conserve energy, such as adding insulation and storm windows to their home and lowering their thermostat. The proof of their success is that last December they consumed 13 percent less electricity and 49 percent less natural gas than they had 3 years earlier—all this in the face of a severe winter.

Despite their heroic efforts, their energy bill was higher in 1976 than it was in 1973.

Mrs. Godbout's letter speaks for itself. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

DEAR PRESIDENT CARTER: I have never before written to a President but I feel so strongly over my concern about our natural gas crisis that I'm praying you will give this letter much consideration. When is somebody going to start looking at the consumers' side of this crisis? I realize we need to seek new ways and means for new energy and this takes money, but the consumer can't pay for it all. Why can't some Federal money be made available for this? The average and below income families cannot continue to pay prices such as we are now for gas much longer. From all indications the price of gas will go even higher and it will soon be impossible to pay our bills—what do we do then? Another year or so like this and I'm sure many people will have to consider going on welfare rolls or have some assistance available to keep warm. We have no choice as to where to buy gas other than from monopolies such as Iowa Power & Light and they continue to impose rate increase upon rate increase upon us. Plus they are allowed to pass along to the consumer energy cost adjustments.

This hardly seems fair to me. Seems to me that when something is sold to me at set amount that's what I should be expected to pay, but this energy cost adjustment varies from month to month and is passed along to the consumer. I'm very depressed over the future outlook. I feel like I'm backed in a corner with nowhere to turn for help so I'm taking this means to help you and other heads of Energy. We are constantly being asked to conserve (and

believe me we have conserved) and for our efforts and sacrifices we are thanked by having to pay these high prices for gas and told it will go even higher.

We have done everything possible in our home to conserve energy and I don't know of anything further we can do. Is it fair that I have to continue to pay even higher prices for gas? Listed below are some of the means we have taken.

1. Insulated attic, all side walls and put on storm windows in 1974.

2. We have caulked around all window and door casings.

3. We have gradually dialed down—as of this winter (76-77) the thermostat is set at 64-66. (your pleas to the nation to dial down to 65 didn't affect us—I already know how uncomfortable that temperature is)

4. At night we dial down to 56.

5. I pull shades and close drapes at the windows at night on days the sun doesn't shine.

6. We have steam heat and we shut off upstairs radiators when we get up in the mornings and turn them back on at night.

7. We have shut off and don't heat rooms we don't need.

8. I dry about half of our laundry on lines in the basement and I wash in cold water.

9. We keep high humidity in our house because we have health problems that require this.

10. I don't have a dishwasher or self cleaning oven, etc.

What more can be expected from a consumer?

Next are some facts and figures which will prove that I have conserved. This is taken off our Iowa Power and Light bills.

December 1973 (before we took steps to conserve):

Used, 912 kwh; cost, \$25.37.

Used, 635 ccf; cost \$66.83.

December 1975:

Used, 913 kwh; cost \$36.13.

Used, 320 ccf; cost, \$48.16.

December 1976:

Used, 791 kwh; cost \$32.26.

Used, 323 ccf; cost, \$61.79.

You can see that we used nearly half as much gas this December as we did in 1973 but the cost is nearly the same. It would be impossible for me to pay the bill if I had used the same amount as I did in 1973 at the current rates. Also notice that we used only 3 ccf of gas more this December than in 1975 and the Iowa Power representative commented to this fact that we had conserved because this December 1976 was 20 percent colder than December 1975. I also paid a difference of \$13.63 for those 3 ccf in a year's time. When I see increases like that on 3 ccf it makes me shudder—what justifies increases like that? How can anyone be expected to keep up with rising costs such as these? My combined bill with sales tax was \$96.87 for this past December. I have to cut down on food in order to pay it and I cannot continue to pay such prices. Mr. President, what am I to do if gas continues to rise?

For these reasons, President Carter, I plead with you to set up some kinds of programs that would give the consumer that conserves a break in the cost of gas. I don't see how it is humanly possible for me to conserve much more or for my husband to increase our income anymore. He is a teacher and he supplements our income by coaching during the school year and painting houses in the summer. Yes, there are people who have not done their part in conserving but as a whole most families have taken means to conserve, so why not introduce a program that would benefit the conservers and let those who don't pay the consequences.

Excuse this poorly typed letter but I am tired and I've lost my touch and it is difficult to type with cold hands.

I am praying for some action to benefit families across the nation such as us. May God direct you, Mr. President, to help people like us—your people. I must say I am happy about the steps you have taken to cut energy cost and consumption since you've taken office. I'm disturbed with our local state in the fact that they say they will not dial down to 65 in the State Office Building. Why should the householder then? I pray God will send some answers to this problem.

Yours truly,

MRS. MARY ELLEN GODBOUT.

#### BLINDING JUSTICE: THE CAMPAIGN TO OUTLAW THE U.S. INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES

HON. LARRY McDONALD

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 22, 1977

Mr. McDONALD. Mr. Speaker, on February 15, three organizations working to extinguish America's foreign and domestic intelligence-gathering capability held a Capitol Hill press conference to publicize proposed Federal legislation which they drafted to outlaw domestic intelligence-gathering. The three organizations are the American Civil Liberties Union, ACLU, the Fund for Peace's Center for National Security Studies, CNSS, and the Committee for Public Justice, CPJ.

The three groups were presented in the media account of the press conference as "civil liberties" organizations. In fact the three are civil liberties groups only in the sense that they are working to set up conditions under which the civil rights guaranteed under our Constitution will be destroyed. The draft legislation, for which congressional sponsors are being sought, will be considered separately. First, a review of the organizations and individuals sponsoring it is in order.

The ACLU was founded by socialists who, though preferring nonviolence themselves, cooperated for decades with totalitarian Marxist-Leninist organizations under the direction of the Soviet Union. Although professing concern for individual liberties, the ACLU continues to have among its leaders and membership Communist Party, U.S.A. activists, and other Marxist-Leninists who can under no circumstances be considered civil libertarians.

In its 1970-71 annual report, the ACLU announced:

The ACLU has made the dissolution of the Nation's vast surveillance network a top priority. . . . The ACLU's attack on the political surveillance is being pressed simultaneously through a research project, litigation, and legislation action.

The ACLU's Project on Privacy and Data Collection, called more accurately the "antisurveillance project" by activists, is headed by Frank J. Donner, identified in sworn testimony by three witnesses as a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A. For 20 years, Donner has been a leader of the Communist Party's efforts to end all forms of subversive activities.

The Committee for Public Justice was founded in 1970 by Lillian Hellman who

~~Orig. Cat. for National~~  
Security Studies  
(orig under Michigan State)

December 23, 1976

Mr. Robert Stark  
Executive Assistant  
Associated Students of Michigan State University  
334 Student Services  
East Lansing, Michigan 48823

Dear Mr. Stark,

I am responding to your letter of November 19, 1964, addressed to [redacted] and [redacted] to help this Agency

"We are aware that there has been a mass mailing from the "Center for National Security Studies" and Mr. John Marks to academic institutions and student newspapers throughout the country, with various allegations concerning this Agency and universities."

As for your inquiry about the credibility of the "Center for National Security Studies" and whether its literature has a serious purpose, it would not be appropriate for this Agency to comment on such matters. The attitudes of the "Center for National Security Studies" and its associates on foreign intelligence activities of the United States are reflected by their publications, such as their "First Principles" series and others. I am enclosing some clippings from newspapers which reflect some of Mr. Marks's views about the Agency; also included is a recent newspaper syndicated column which notes the efforts of the "Center for National Security Studies" to "dissolve lines of collaboration between universities and the CIA."

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*ORGI Center for National  
Security Studies*

*KLAUS David M.*

*16 NOV 1976 (orig under ORGI)*

Mr. David M. Klaus  
Center for National Security Studies  
122 Maryland Avenue, S.E.  
Washington, DC 20002

Dear Mr. Klaus:

This is in response to your letter of 3 June 1976 wherein you requested copies of documents given to the Select Committee on Intelligence of the House of Representatives.

It has been determined that any documents which might exist which would be responsive to your request and which reveal any CIA connection with or interest in matters relating to those set forth in your request and, indeed, any data that might reveal the existence of any such records would be duly classified under criteria set forth in Executive Order 11652. Accordingly, and pursuant to the authority of exemption (b)(1) of the Freedom of Information Act, this is to advise that this Agency will not grant access to any records that may exist which might be responsive to your request. By this answer, we are neither denying nor confirming that any such records exist.

It has been determined further that the fact of the existence or non-existence of such records, if any, would relate to information pertaining to intelligence sources and methods which the Director of Central Intelligence has the responsibility to protect from unauthorized disclosure in accordance with section 102(d)(3) of the National Security Act of 1947 and section 6 of the Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949. Accordingly, such records, if any, would be denied pursuant to exemption (b)(3) of the Freedom of Information Act.

STAT      These determinations have been made by [redacted]  
[redacted] Chief of the Services Staff, and may be appealed to  
the CIA Information Review Committee, as provided by 32 Code  
of Federal Regulations, section 1900.51.

Sincerely,

[redacted]  
Information and Privacy Coordinator

IPS/EK/ps: 15 Nov 76

Distribution:

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DRG Center For National  
Security Studies  
SOCY.01-1 First Principles  
↳ The Intelligence  
Report  
P-MARKS, John

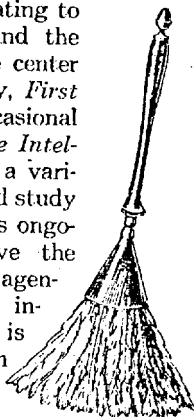
## From What We Gather:

Macy, Christy

### If the Center Has Its Way, A Little Housecleaning

The Center for National Security Studies is a Washington-based, non-profit educational organization whose function is the analysis and publication of material relating to national security and the public interest. The center publishes a monthly, *First Principles*, an occasional periodical called *The Intelligence Report*, and a variety of pamphlets and study packets. Many of its ongoing projects involve the study of intelligence agencies. One of them involves the CIA. It is headed by John Marks (coauthor, with Victor Marchetti, of *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*) and among its several concerns is the domestic fallout from agency activities. What is intelligence gathering doing to American institutions? What, for example, is it doing to the university?

To answer some of these questions, Marks and his assistant, Christy



Macy, have compiled a pamphlet designed primarily for use in the academic community. The hope, says Macy, is to disseminate as much information as possible and "to get people to find out what's going on in their own communities." That could mean prodding university presidents to query the CIA about continuing agency relationships on their campuses; it could mean encouraging faculty and students to make use of the Freedom of Information Act. Whatever the tactics, it is hoped that higher education can be roused to a slightly greater pitch of activism than it has displayed in recent years.

The center pamphlet includes information on pre-1967 CIA activities, the Katzenbach report, surveillance and recruiting, operational use of faculty abroad and at home, subsidized propaganda, secret contracts, and the findings of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities. Inquiries may be addressed to the Center for National Security Studies, 122 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.

# RADIO TV REPORTS, INC.

4435 WISCONSIN AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20016 244-3540

*ORGI Center for National Security Studies*  
*Borosage, Robert*

*Macy, Christy*

*CIA 3.01.3*

*P. Flood, NATE*  
*(originator ORGI)*

FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM The Potter's House

STATION WETA Radio  
NPR Network

DATE June 30, 1976 6:30 PM CITY Washington, D.C.

SUBJECT ~~Full Text~~ *Guests: Robert Borosage & Christy Macy*  
*Reps From Center for National Security Studies*

NATE FLOOD: Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. My name is Nate Flood, and it's my pleasure to welcome you to another one of our discussions here at the Potter's House. Tonight I think we have a topic that you will find challenging and very interesting. We have two speakers this evening. We have two representatives of the Center for National Security Studies, which is a nonprofit organization which examines our national security issues. It is concerned with the operations of all of the intelligence-gathering branches of the U.S. Government. And as you all know, there are quite a number of those arms of the government.

Our speakers are Robert Borosage, who is the director of the center, and Christy Macy, who is an associate at the center. The title of their talk tonight is "The CIA: Covert Action and Democracy." We will hear first from Ms. Macy, so let us welcome her now.

[Applause]

CHRISTY MACY: Almost 30 years ago, the Central Intelligence Agency was established, as part of the National Security Act. It was set up originally to gather and coordinate intelligence, and the mood of the country at that point was "No more Pearl Harbors. We have to have a better intelligence agency."

At that time, it's responsibilities were not only to gather intelligence, but it was also prohibited from any kind of domestic activities within the United States. There was a fear that a Gestapo would be formed, and Congress said absolutely nothing should be done domestically.

However, almost from its very inception, the CIA has

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conducted covert operations abroad. There was the Bay of Pigs in Cuba, the Phoenix assassination program in Vietnam, the secret war in Laos, the destabilization program in Chile, the assassination attempts on foreign leaders, funding of political parties in Italy, sending arms and mercenaries to Angola. For 30 years the CIA has been America's secret police around the world. It has also been part of the secret police at home.

During the 1960s, the CIA was very much involved in massive domestic surveillance of the antiwar movement and the civil rights movement.

Well, tonight we would like to talk about what the cost of these operations have been to us here at home. In the process of undermining and manipulating governments abroad, the CIA has had a profound effect on the democratic process in this country.

A constitutional government is based on a number of principles. It's based on the free flow of information, a free press, an open educational system, and separation of church and state. There are a lot of processes that go on that shape how we see ourselves and how we view the world here. We go to church, we attend school, we read books, we read newspapers. And all this is part of our education in a democratic, open society.

But now we find that the very institutions and individuals that we have looked to for guidance or for information, that we have thought were private and independent, now we learn that they have been used by the government and in a secret way. The CIA has not shied away from using whoever it can to support its operations abroad; and nothing is sacred, not even the church.

As one CIA operative said, "Hell, I'd use anybody if was to the furtherance of our objectives. I've used Buddhist monks, Catholic priests, and even a Catholic bishop."

So, the CIA has gotten very involved, even in the church itself. Because missionaries live and work abroad, they're a natural tool for the agency to use as part of its covert operations. For instance, the CIA had missionaries in Bolivia reporting regularly to them about labor union activities, people who were doing political work, organizing cooperatives. A priest in Brazil was on the regular payroll, CIA payroll, for spying on his colleagues. Even by the early 1970s, a South Vietnamese Catholic bishop regularly coordinated with the CIA.

The agency sponsored a number of conferences in Latin America -- one was specifically on land reform -- and then used the people in the conference for other purposes.

In the early 1960s, the CIA supported a Catholic radio program in Colombia, in Latin America, that was supposedly part of

a program to teach the rural peasants how to read. And as part of that program, the CIA agents spied on the people and spread CIA propaganda around the countryside, and then they created the program.

As you all know, the CIA had a major destabilization program in Chile, where for years it tried to keep Salvador Allende from power. One of its assets was an American priest, who was a conduit for millions of dollars from the CIA to give out to his network within Chile to keep Allende from power.

The CIA also had priests in this country who would report on radical elements within the church and also would spy on his students.

Because of this -- a lot of these revelations have just come out in the last couple of years, and there's been a tremendous outrage within the religious community. And because of this outcry, one of the first things that our new CIA Director, Bush, did was to issue a statement that the CIA would not longer have secret relationships with the clergy. But there's no legislation, there is no law that this -- in fact, this practice cannot happen again.

And just an example of how the CIA's use of specific people has violated the very basic constitutional principle of this government, which is separation of church and state.

But the CIA didn't limit itself to turning priests into spies. It has also used professors, university officials, and students for its own purposes. The CIA has a secret presence on American campuses. Very few people know about it and there's very little information out. But it continues to distort the educational process.

For example, the CIA contracts out research projects at certain universities. Some of these are in the social sciences, some of them are in the political sciences. But whatever the contracts are, they're kept secret. What this means is that if a -- a graduate student or a research assistant could be working on a contract that's been funded or used by the CIA and have no idea that that is so. And example: A friend of mine was working at Harvard and he was asked to translate Russian newspapers there. And after a few weeks, he found out that this was a CIA project, and left.

Another way that professors are used is that they help recruit students at the university. What happens is that they see a student that they think might have potential with the agency, and will give the agency their name. The CIA will then do a security check and find out, you know, who your friends are, what you're doing, what your political beliefs are. And you are never told that this security check is being done. And when the CIA agent goes around and interviews your friends or your family, he doesn't

identify himself.

An example of this: Just recently, there was a student at the University of Wisconsin who requested his CIA file. He was an antiwar activist in the '60s, and a large -- and the CIA was certainly targeting in on the activists then. And so he wrote to the agency and said, "Could I have my file?" And the agency wrote back and said, "No, we don't have a file on your political activities, but in fact you were investigated beforehand as a potential employee of the agency." They refused to give him that file, and he's still in court over trying to get it.

The universities are, as I say, a real target for recruiting students, and it's the foreign students that are usually the major focus. As an example, there was an Iranian student called Ahmad Jabari (?) at the Washington University at St. Louis. Last year he was approached by the CIA. The agency said, "We'll give you medical -- we'll pay for your medical expenses, we'll put you on the CIA payroll, we'll give you U.S. citizenship. All you have to do is go back to Iran, get a job in the government, and spy for us. And while you're still here in this country, we would like to be informed of what the rest of your friends are doing, what the Iranian students are up to at this point." And this is not unusual. Foreign students are very important to the CIA. Most of their operations are in the Third World, and this is an easy way of recruiting and getting their people in place within other countries.

Professors are not only used to do secret research, to help recruit agents for the agency, they're also used operationally abroad. According to the Senate committee report, which just did a long report on the findings over the last year and a half, it said that over 100 professors were used on over 100 campuses, and many of them were used as spies, traveling abroad, gathering information for the agency, and sometimes involving covert operations abroad.

When professors are paid to spy on their students, when they're sent abroad to collect information or as cover for covert operations abroad, the trust of and the openness of a university is really not there any longer. But not only can't students trust their own teachers, they can't even be sure that one of their textbooks, let's say on China or Vietnam or Chile, was not written as CIA propaganda.

The Senate Intelligence Report said that certain books written by the agency or funded by the CIA has had a profound effect on how people perceive a number of events that have happened abroad. And especially, most of the books, certainly in the 1950s and early '60s, were about China and the Soviet Union, and there was very little information that was really coming out at that time, and they had a real impact on how people understood those countries.

At one point, Eric Sevareid of CBS was commenting on a book, and it was about a young student who had grown up and gone to school in a Communist country, and he said, quote, "Our propaganda services would [sic] do worse than flood university towns with this volume."

Well, in fact, the book had been written by the CIA and was being used for that very purpose. Presumably Sevareid did not know this at the time.

In 1967 the CIA suspended direct publication and subsidation [sic] of books and journals within the United States, but the names of the books that they'd published -- some of them were on Vietnam, China, the Soviet Union, Chile -- have never been acknowledged. So we're still not sure, in fact, what we're reading at this point. It's never been published.

But even after that ban, there have been over 250 books which have been published abroad, and all of them have not been -- have not been in foreign languages. In addition, the committee report says that professors are still used at universities to produce CIA propaganda.

One of the most important aspects of a free, democratic society is a free press. Every day, we pick up the newspaper, listen to the radio, read about events going on around the world. But the CIA has polluted the free press in this country and continues to do so.

Before a few months ago, CIA employed over 50 American journalists who worked for the U.S. media. Some worked fulltime for the agency, others were freelance journalists or stringers for American newspapers. Some planted CIA stories, others just picked up CIA propaganda and reported it as the truth.

As one small example, during the destabilization program in Chile, the CIA carried on a major propaganda campaign against Allende. It subsidized El Mercurio, which was one of the major Chilean newspapers in Santiago. During one six-week period, the CIA claimed responsibility for over 700 articles, broadcasts, and editorials that appeared in Latin American, European, and ultimately American newspapers. Also during that time, the CIA had 17 journalists on the payroll covering events in Chile.

But the CIA did not just pay reporters for their services. It had its own news services. Radio Free Europe was a CIA propaganda tool until it was exposed. More recently, Foreign World Features, which is based in London, was a CIA front which sent out news dispatches to major newspapers around the world, including The Washington Post. It was closed down last year out of fear that the CIA connections would be exposed.

A dramatic example of how the CIA can really affect how we think and perceive something is that at one point the CIA subsidized a book which was widely read by Americans -- we're not told what book it was. It was then reviewed in The New York Times by a writer who was also working for the agency, using The Times as cover. Sort of the full circle of the extent to which CIA has propagandized the American people, as well as abroad.

Because there was so much influx of CIA propaganda coming into this country, a secret coordinating committee was set up to insure that our policymakers were not taken in by distorted, exaggerated or false news created by the agency. Needless to say, no guarantees were made so that we were protected from this kind of distortion in the media.

Last February, CIA Director Bush made the dramatic declaration that CIA would no longer use journalists. So we all sighed a sigh of relief. But then we found out from the committee report that this prohibition only covers about half of the secret contacts that the agency had with journalists, and the use of stringers and freelance writers continues; and manipulation of the free press continues.

What I've talked about tonight are some of the more direct effects of CIA on our institutions in this country. Bob Borosage will now discuss the broader and really the more insidious effects the CIA has on our democracy.

[Applause]

ROBERT BOROSAGE: It doesn't take much thought, really, when you start to think about how the CIA is inimical to a democracy. For example, Jimmy Carter, the Democratic presidential candidate, has received great applause for his statement that "I will never tell you a lie." It's a simple statement, a simple pledge, but it's received an extraordinary response around the country. Yet, for Carter to say that, he's either naive, he's lying, or he's got a secret plan to do something about covert action abroad.

Now, why is that true? The Carter statement is very similar to a statement made by Richard Helms in 1971, before all the recent revelations. In '71 Helms, who was then the Director of the CIA, was asked how we could be certain that the CIA was not violating the law. And he responded, "Gentlemen, you must take it on faith that we too are honorable men."

Well, it was this specific honorable man, Richard Helms, who lied under oath to a Senate committee about the CIA's intervention in Chile, who lied under oath to a different Senate committee about the CIA's domestic program against American dissidents, and who even misled President Nixon about the fact that the CIA had a mail-opening program going, when Helms told Nixon they did not.

Helms is now the Ambassador to Iran. Why is he the Ambassador to Iran and not indicted for perjury? Because the Justice Department decided they couldn't indict him for perjury, because, after all, it was his duty to lie.

If you have covert action abroad, you have to have cover stories. And if you have to have cover stories, then you have to keep them secret. And in the end, cover stories are no different than cover-ups. And as we all know from Watergate, cover-ups require lies.

Now, lying isn't an extraordinary thing in this society, and many people think it's fairly naive of anyone to assume that the government should like -- shouldn't lie to you. But think about the implications. We have a secret foreign policy that's run by the CIA. You have no idea what our policy is in various regions of the world. That means for those of you who are concerned about different regions of the world -- say, southern Africa, the Middle East, Latin America -- you don't really know what our policy is there, because it's secret. That means you can't vote for a candidate on the basis of a policy that you would like or a policy you disapprove of, simply because you can't know about it.

And it's not a small matter. The Senate committee discovered that we have a secret budget for the intelligence agencies of 8 to 10 billion dollars, which happens to be 10% of the controllable federal funds that are voted every year by the Congress. That means 10% of the budget that your Congress votes on is secret; you don't know about it, 90% of the congressmen know about it; it goes to intelligence. For what? An intelligence 90% of the congressmen don't know about and you don't know about.

The CIA is so secret, for example, that the Senate investigation headed by Frank Church, which recently was supposed to investigate it thoroughly, had to agree with the agency that it would not publish its case studies of covert action abroad before the CIA would allow the committee to have the information. The committee, of course, was armed with a subpoena power, but the CIA threatened to fight that all the way to the Supreme Court. Since the committee did not have time to fight, they made the deal ahead of time.

The secrecy is so ubiquitous that Richard Helms, then not even Director of the CIA, but Deputy Director for Plans, didn't find it necessary to tell John McCone about ongoing assassination attempts when McCone was named CIA Director, nor did he find it necessary to tell him about the CIA's mail-opening program, which was illegal. Helms thought that McCone probably wouldn't like it.

Secrecy is a mystique for intelligence. It's as necessary to intelligence as darkness is to a seance, and it's used even when



it has no purpose. I think the best example of that is when the House committee subpoenaed the family jewels, what the CIA called the family jewels, which was a 693-page report about the illegal activities of the CIA, compiled inside the CIA. It got a copy of the report with a page -- well, a number of pages missing. But one of the pages specifically was missing. So it subpoenaed the report again and said, "A subpoena is a subpoena. You're supposed to answer it in toto." And it got that one page that was missing. And the page was a Xerox of a Jack Anderson column. That's secrecy.

Secrecy is also a cosmetic, in that like cosmetics, it covers up blemishes. And now we know what some of the blemishes are. The crimes in the domestic and foreign programs of the CIA have been painted throughout these hearings. What we found out is that over the last 15 years, the CIA has had over 900 major covert action programs approved by the 40 Committee. This number is, according to the Senate committee, less than one-fourth, or about one-fourth, of the total number of covert action programs because most of them are so minor and routine that they're not even approved by the small 40 Committee.

Of those approved by the 40 Committee, the House report tells us that 23% were paramilitary activities, some 24% involved media abroad, using the free media abroad to propagandize people, and some 32% involved interference in elections abroad. That's what the CIA does as routine. That is your secret foreign policy that you don't know about.

Now, does it serve the national interest -- the Senate committee said that it almost recommended that we not have any covert action at all, because it couldn't find any since immediately after the end of the war in Europe that it thought served the national interest and it was necessary to the national security. Rather, what it found was a series of events that served not so much the national security as presidential whim or the whim of the Secretary of State.

I think the most atrocious example of this is the example exposed by the House involving the Kurds in the Middle East. It seems that the Shah of Iran had a border dispute going with the Iraqi Government, and the Kurds were in rebellion against the Iraqi Government. So the Shah wanted to keep the rebellion going. So he convinced Secretary Kissinger to aid the Iraqi -- the Kurds against the Iraqi Government and to give them guarantees that the Shah's aid, as well as United States aid, would not be cut off in the near future.

So, the aid poured in. Over three years, we put in 16 million; the Shah of Iran put in much more than that, and we kept the Kurds going, even when they could have settled. And so, they fought on, the rebellion kept going. We apparently, according

to the House, advised them so that they would not win, but we wanted to keep the rebellion going.

Then, after three years, the Shah of Iran settled his dispute on the border of Iraq and decided to cut off all aid. He informed Secretary Kissinger of that, and all aid was cut off to the Kurds. Immediately, the day after, the Iraqi Government launched a search-and-destroy program against the Kurdish people. Over 200,000 refugees resulted, thousands were killed. The Kurds asked for humanitarian aid, which was refused by Secretary of State Kissinger. And a high State Department official, perhaps Kissinger himself, was quoted by the House as saying, "Covert action should not be confused with missionary work."

That is what the CIA does as its secret foreign policy abroad.

In terms of the cost domestically, we know some of the costs. The family jewels, as I say, the report of the CIA's -- the CIA's own report on its internal crimes -- totalled 693 pages. We know about the surveillance of Americans. We know, as Christy Macy has told us, about the false-bottom world.

But it's more than just this kind of basic and, I think, fairly small programs that come home. Rather, it's the whole notion of what the government is and how it relates to the world.

For example, we now know, what many of us would never have believed two years, that the CIA conspired with the Mafia to murder, or attempt to murder, Fidel Castro. Now, the Central Intelligence Agency spokesmen say there was no cost, that Mafia figures did it for patriotic motives. When the Senate brought Johnny Roselli to testify, they were astounded at the fact that he could testify in such wealth of detail about the names and places and dates and his contacts with CIA agents. And so they leaned forward, Senator Church had said, leaned forward at the end of his testimony and said, "Mr. Roselli, we are stunned at how detailed your testimony is and we're quite pleased at the wealth of detail you've provided us. Tell me, do you take notes?"

And Roselli, the reputed Mafia capo, replied, "No, I only take cash." And the CIA said there was no cost.

But the cost isn't just the cost of Roselli. The cost is, rather, the cost to our belief in democratic government. For example, when Sam Giancana, the Mafia capo in Chicago, was murdered the weekend before he was to come to the Senate to testify on his contacts with the CIA, the claim went out that the CIA had murdered him. William Colby, the Director of the CIA, was forced to go on the front page of The New York Times and deny the fact that the CIA had knocked off Sam Giancana.

Now, that's an extraordinary moment. The director of an American agency has to deny to the American people that he has killed a Mafia capo figure in a gangland slaying, and many Americans can't believe him. That means that we have a very bad feeling indeed about our government and a bad relationship to it. And that, in the end, is what covert action abroad does at home. It destroys the bonds of trust, it destroys the ability of a democratic society to relate to its leadership in a trusting and honest way. In the end, it teaches us in its own image.

Mr. Justice Brandeis once wrote that government is the great and omnipresent teacher. For good or for ill, it teaches us by its example.

Well, at this point, the government's example is a bad one indeed. Covert action abroad is official terrorism, and it teaches us the efficiency of violence. And secrecy and cover stories are official lines and teach us their own cynicism.

So, I think we have to get away from the CIA, we have to get away from covert action abroad before too many of us learn from its example.

[Applause]

FLOOD: Thank you very much. Our speakers this evening are Robert Borosage and Christy Macy, both of whom are with the Center for National Security Studies. They have been speaking to us on the subject of the CIA and how its covert actions can adversely affect our democratic form of government.

We'll resume with our discussion period right after this brief pause.

FLOOD: We are ready now to begin the discussion portion of our program, and let me advise you that you may direct your question to either of our speakers, if you wish, or you may simply throw the question out for either or both of them to answer at their discretion.

So, let us welcome back our speakers now, Robert Borosage and Christy Macy.

[Applause]

MAN: Mr. Borosage, I'd like to ask two questions. First, I'm curious to ask: What are the sources of information that your center has, in terms of the comments that you've been making?

BOROSAGE: Well, we've done a number of things. One is we have all of the authorized, authoritative reports that have now come out from the Rockefeller Commission and from the Senate and

House committees, which we've covered. We also have a series of information which we've received under the Freedom-of-Information Act, including the CIA's secret charter, the delimitation agreement with the military intelligence units, etcetera.

For example, I recently had a suit against the CIA for all of the assassination documents they gave the Rockefeller Commission, and we got a ton of them, although not all of them yet. And that's still going on.

And then we have -- John Marks is on our staff, who's a former member of the Intelligence and Research Department of the State Department and the coauthor of "The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence." Also, Morton Halperin works with us, who used to be on the National Security Council, under President Nixon, for a year, and prior to that with Johnson's Defense Department. And we've interviewed tons of former agents.

So, those are the basic sources.

MAN: All right, the second question is: You all have presented, let's say, a cost analysis of their covert activities. I'm interested to know if you were to make a benefit analysis of the CIA. In other words, what is their justification? What can they do that would be beneficial to the United States and to the other countries in the world? How would you answer that, briefly, please?

BOROSAGE: I think that CIA can serve a very good function, which it doesn't serve very well now, and that is, intelligence assessment. It was formed originally because we have all these intelligence agencies that gather intelligence, and no one who assesses it who doesn't have a stake in the assessment. So the Navy always has intelligence assessment that shows us why we need a bigger Navy, etcetera. And the CIA was formed to be an agency that didn't have an operational arm, that would give us neutral assessments. I think that's a legitimate function.

What I would do to the CIA is take all the analysts and lock them up in Langley and have them do intelligence work, and I would get them out of the business of covert action.

I think covert action has had extraordinary costs to our foreign policy abroad, to our society at home, and little or not benefits to us. It does serve the President. It's the President's kind of Saturday night special. It sits on his hip and he can point it at whatever country he's interested in. But I don't think that has any place in a democracy and I don't think it serves our country's interests at all.

MAN: I liked your presentation an awful lot, but I would like to know if you could respond to this: Basically, I think that

a lot of people in America have read some of the things that have either come out in The Village Voice about the CIA or in other places about the CIA, and I think a lot of them are shocked, but I don't know if they're more shocked at the CIA doing all these things or the ineptness of the CIA and the fact that it's failed in most of the things it's tried to do, except for like, you know, killing Sam in Chicago or maybe Kennedy in Dallas. But it seems like it just failed in just about everything it's attempted to do. And it's the complete ineptness that I think most people in America are more upset about than the fact that it's doing all these things.

BOROSAGE: Well, I think there's two different parts of the CIA's operational arm. One is the glamorous ones, the big hits: destabilization of Chile, the Kurdish operation, etcetera. And many of those that we know about have been failures. Some -- I think, for instance, the coup in Indonesia, which we will learn soon it was a CIA operation -- have been successful and haven't been revealed yet. But many of them have been successful.

It's other operation is sort of -- it's a much more low-key cancerous one. That is, the agency maintains in place operatives throughout the Third World who, from day to day, in a very routine way, manipulate the politics of those societies. And I think at that it's very powerful and fairly successful. I think if you read the Agee book about -- Philip Agee, "The CIA Diary" -- what the CIA did in Ecuador, where they really controlled, to a great extent, the police, the education system, the press, the government, just on a day-to-day, routine level. You don't have to come to the 40 Committee; you just keep it up, and it's a bribe system that the CIA partakes in and multinational corporations partake in. I think they're fairly successful at doing that.

One example of that, I think, was the interesting revelation in Japan, where Lockheed's agent for its bribes of the Japanese Government is a former Nazi war criminal who was passing the bribes to government officials in order to get Lockheed military contracts, was also the CIA's man in Japan.

And so, there's this kind of nether land of operatives who work for both multinational corporations and for intelligence agencies, not just the CIA. And I think the CIA is very successful at that low-key stuff, and that's very dangerous because it skews politics throughout the Third World.

MAN: Concerning this area of intelligence assessment, which you consider to be legitimate, would you say that it has been at all jeopardized by the revelations concerning the Central Intelligence Agency and also by the activities of organizations like your own?

BOROSAGE: I don't think assessment has. I think assess-

ment has been basically jeopardized by the fact the CIA has an operational capacity which skews its intelligence reports, or at least skews the way they're presented.

For example, once the CIA goes into Vietnam with Phoenix and it's trying to destroy the NLF, then the CIA Director has a very big stake in proving to the President, when he's asked for intelligence assessments about what's going on in Vietnam, that while things might not be too good, "Our program is going to solve them in the end."

That means that the analysts who are producing reports consistently, as the Pentagon Papers showed, that the whole thing is a muck-up and we ought to get out, the analysts are kind of being undermined by their director, who has an operational stake in changing the way the reports look. I think that has a worse problem [sic] on assessment.

I don't think we've hurt assessment at all, and I think we've hurt operations too little. I mean I think they still go on at a fairly same, fairly large rate, much larger than I would like.

MAN I have another, somewhat related question dealing with covert activities. Assuming that you see any moral legitimacy in American foreign policy whatsoever, making that assumption -- you know, and I see one, although little -- do you think there's any useful covert activities at all? People have said that there ought to be something that we can do before we send in the Marines. Do you agree with that argument at all?

BOROSAGE: Well, I think that's one of the things the agency's been successful at selling that I could never figure out. We have an extraordinary number of diplomatic and economic and show-the-flag and all sorts of alternatives that are short of sending in the Marines if we want to influence politics in a country.

For example, when Secretary Kissinger starts his campaign in Rhodesia and he travels there and meets with people and meets with the states around and throws a little aid into this country and that country and does a little trade deal with this country, he can have an extraordinary effect in terms of getting the politics that he wants. He doesn't have to use covert operations and he doesn't have to use the Marines.

I think covert operations really have been -- there's this wonderful notion that -- Bill Colby wanders around the country saying "The only alternative between mild protest and the Marines," and that's just nonsense. The fact is we have a huge range of diplomatic and economic instruments that we can use to have a foreign policy. And the important thing, of course, is that they're overt, so that at least the Congress can know about them and debate

them, and at least the public can know about them and debate them, and we can have some sense of what our country's doing.

MAN: What repercussions, if any -- you have said before -- or one of you have said before; I don't remember which one -- said that we had used an awful lot of students and professors and priests, etcetera, etcetera. Were there any repercussions for people who didn't comply with CIA requests? And if not, then what was making everybody do it? I mean the CIA just didn't get them to do it by themselves. They must have agreed also.

MACY: Well, I would say as far as recruitment, let's say -- and over the last year, year and a half, as you know, the congressional committees have been coming out with all these horror stories about the agency and what it's done, and yet recruitment has gone up on campus. And I think it's, on a certain level, the students are there because -- part of it is the economic situation. I mean there are pretty few jobs running around at this point. But it's also a sense of patriotism. I think that people still feel that -- and this certainly applies to professors who do secret research or even missionaries who were used before -- that this is a part of what this country does; it reflects that they are patriotic Americans.

And I think that that's what we have to deal with at this point: What is good for this country and what is not?

MAN: You referred to the CIA before as the President's Saturday night special. Isn't the implication that the CIA is under Executive control a rather naive assumption?

BOROSAGE: Oh, no. I think -- I think generally -- that's a hard question to answer. Yes, in terms of the major operations. I don't think the CIA initiates or does a major operation, a destabilization against Allende, etcetera, without orders from above. In terms of -- the Senate committee showed us that those are about one-quarter of all covert operations; and this kind of nether world and the day-to-day stuff, while it's guided by directives to the station, it gives a lot of play for a lot of action at a lower level.

I think that the agency -- the notion that the agency is a rogue elephant is a red herring. That is, that it's simply not true, that basically it is the President's Saturday night special on major things and it serves the interests that Executive officials want served abroad. I don't think it's out of control, generally.

MAN: By your own prior statements, however, it seems at least one American President that we know of, and there's some indication that it was involved in the death of a second American President. Do you think that any American President could safely attempt to limit the powers of the CIA or to strip it of its

capacity to conduct covert operations?

BOROSAGE: Well, I both believe that's possible, and I would hate to accept the assumptions that underlie believing the reverse. I think you have to operate on the assumption that it's possible, even if you have doubts.

I think that if Jimmy Carter or any American President came in tomorrow and said, "We're not going to have appropriations for the CIA. These thousand people are fired. We're not going to have clandestine services anymore," there would be some stinks, there'd be some aggravation, there'd be a huge political fight, but basically those people would be out of the government.

Now, various CIA agents have shown they can pop up in different places. Conein, who used to be in Vietnam, is now with the Drug Administration, presumably fighting drug traffic abroad. But I think that basically those people can go.

When Schlesinger came in as Director of the CIA, one of the first things he did was -- one of the first things he did was fire a thousand operatives, CIA agents who were in clandestine services. And they say that he then walked around with bodyguards for some period of time, but he also became Secretary of Defense and survived that moment.

So, I think it's possible to end clandestine services. I don't think it's that far out of control.

I think most CIA operatives operate on a basis of patriotism, and a debate in this country that ended up with a decision to get rid of clandestine services would be followed by most of them. Most of them would think we were foolish, but they would adhere to it.

MAN: Do you know of any comparative studies? I mean, for example, how secret is the KGB, or maybe the Swedish intelligence system? How different is it from the CIA?

BOROSAGE: I would say the KGB -- the KGB's different in that it's the FBI and the CIA combined, and worse. And God save us from having our own KGB.

The other intelligence services have usually, virtually in every country, have much more stringent secrecy requirements than we do here. People can be sent to jail for revealing secrets, whereas in this country we've still saved ourselves from an official secrets act thus far, and hopefully will continue to do so. I think no other country in the world could have the debate we could have. On the other hand, no other country is as strong as we are and has as much at stake in preserving some semblance of a democratic nation as we do, and has as much a chance of doing that as we do.



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So, I think while other agencies are -- the other thing is, of course, that very -- other than the KGB, and I think including the KGB, other intelligence agencies aren't nearly as extensive and active as the CIA is.

MAN: Would you comment on the relationship between covert action and the American economic empire in the Third World, or the relationship between the CIA and multinational corporations?

BOROSAGE: There's a recent book written by a man who uses the CIA as a cover, named Miles Copeland, who claims to be a former agent and many people think is not. But he wrote, based on inside sources, that the agency's course in the future was to cooperate much more closely with multinational corporations. And it's very clear from the presidential orders, etcetera, that the CIA is going to go in much more deeply into economic intelligence, which was one of the things it first started out doing, than it has in the past. And it's going to be working, you know, with multinationals in that case.

When Colby came before a conference that we sponsored, we asked him, when he used a Rockefeller Corporation for cover in Latin America, whether there were favors exchanged for doing that. And he said no, that the Rockefellers, like the Mafia, only did it for patriotic reasons.

I think that it's quite clear from the Chile example, for instance, that the CIA and multinationals work hand-in-glove. That is because American foreign policy and the interests of the multinationals are also hand-in-glove, for the most part.

I think that there is this covert nether world where the CIA and the multinationals know a lot about each other and we know very little about either, which is one thing that's quite distressing.

The best example of the kind of web of interlocks which are very strong comes from the Allende period, when John McCone, who was on the board of directors of ITT and a former CIA Director, came to Henry Kissinger and offered a million dollar bribe. He said that ITT would contribute a million dollars to the stopping of Allende. Kissinger did not report the bribe to the Justice Department, who was Richard Kleindienst; it wouldn't do much good. He instead sent him to William Brough (?), who was the head of the Western Hemisphere clandestine services, and Brough, according to the CIA, and McCone discussed it, but they decided not to go ahead.

In fact, ITT coordinated the whole economic boycott, which was supported by Treasury and by the CIA, while the CIA did its other stuff.

So, I think they work very closely, and their contacts

are both personal at a high level and personal kind of in the nether-world level; and the interests are the same, basically.

MAN: In that same vein, what's your perception of the relationship between the prestigious Council on Foreign Relations and the CIA?

BOROSAGE: I don't think it's much different than the rest of the foreign policy establishment. The CIA is -- has a history of being the best of the good old boys. They come from Princeton and Yale; they're WASPs, as opposed to non-WASPs. Although there's an interesting -- Helms was faced with that accusation, and he went to the Deputy Directors and he had an Italian and a Pole and a few others, and he said, "There's only one WASP here, and that's me."

But generally, the CIA in the past has been the blue-bloods of the federal bureaucracy, and therefore wired into the Council on Foreign Relations better than most bureaucracies. I think that's less true now than in the past, simply because -- partly because the Council is not as powerful as it used to be and partly because the CIA has changed a lot in personnel, etcetera. But I think the interests are, again, very clear.

MAN: I'd like to translate this question from a university student from Mexico. Recently in Mexico they have pointed out or exposed a rather large number of people working for the CIA working within the American consulate under other duties. So, he was interested to know why do you think that there is quite a bit of CIA activity in Mexico. What information do you have on that?

BOROSAGE: The -- I actually don't know. The Senate committee report stated that the CIA had no major covert actions going on in the Western Hemisphere. My belief is that they have a very big one going on in Jamaica, which I can't prove. I haven't looked at Mexico.

I think the agency -- in terms of exposing people in the embassy, you can go to virtually any embassy and expose some 25 to 30 percent of the officials as CIA agents. They're just there, the CIA employees, and that doesn't signify a huge covert operation. That's just that routine, constant presence.

So, the answer is I don't know, and it may just be routine; it may be something special.

MAN: Who in the Senate and the House actually knows what the CIA budget is and what money goes where?

BOROSAGE: The CIA budget is presented in detail to a subcommittee of the House and Senate Appropriations Committee and a subcommittee of the House and Senate Armed Services Committee.

In the past, that has been basically the chairmen of those subcommittees, as opposed to any member. But now it's usually the full subcommittee. And then the general figure is presented to the whole Appropriations Committee in both the House and the Senate. And in the last budget -- well, in one of the last budgets, Representative Giaimo pointed -- happily pointed out that the "Other" under Air Force procurement was part of the CIA budget, which was \$200 million; and we didn't know whether it was all of it or most of it or what percentage of it.

So, the rest of the membership of the House is starting to be informed, at least of the total figure.

For those of you who don't know, the Constitution requires that the budgets of operating departments be published, so that we can keep our officials honest, which is hard enough when they do publish the budget. And this whole intelligence apparatus, of course, has secret budgets, which is a violation of the Constitution. The Senate committee -- I think the most ironic part of the Senate committee and a good example of its background is that the Senate committee went through a very long, detailed and convincing constitutional exegesis where it explained in great detail why it was the Constitution required that at least the total figure of the intelligence agencies' budgets be published each year. And then, when the CIA said, "We're not going to let you publish this without deleting the total figure," it deleted the total figure.

So, it's constitutionally mandated, and the Senate won't do it. But that issue will come up soon again on the floor, and hopefully we'll at least get some portions of their budget published.

MAN: Just by way of comment on that, I think about two years ago the Supreme Court turned back an effort to have the budget of the CIA made public, also, on a question of standing.

BOROSAGE: Right. Basically, what Mr. Justice Burger said was that a taxpayer, one of you or I, do not have standing to challenge the fact that they weren't publishing the budget. Standing means we don't have a right to sue, which means we can't force them to do it, except by having the legislature force them to do it.

MACY: I just wanted to add a little bit to that, which was that even last year, the full committee of the Appropriations Committee voted not to receive the actual budget of the CIA from its subcommittee. So it's not like all of Congress even wants to know how much is being spent.

MAN: It seems to me that a basic presumption that is necessary to the conclusions that have been drawn, particularly by Ms. Macy, is you're to start off with the concept that the CIA is bad, and then, because the CIA is bad, therefore it is not good to cooperate with them, it is not good to work for them, it is not

good to do all of these things.

I wonder if it is really fair, or even a fair presentation of the CIA, to include such things that the fact that missionaries abroad will tell them things or that tourists will respond when they are interrogated or that a priest would give information that he had to the CIA. If we do not presume as a basic initial presumption that the CIA is bad, what is wrong with those things?

MACY: I think part of it is the whole atmosphere of secrecy that pervades these kind of contacts, even though some of them are certainly voluntary, and I'm not arguing that that cannot happen, although I think that the overall effect of secrecy, of having secret relations with the CIA, whether it's journalists or professors or even missionaries, casts a pall over legitimate research or legitimate actions by priests, or wherever there's a suspicion that's created. Certainly in the academic community, even back in '66-67, when it was revealed that the -- that Michigan State University had used its program of training the police in Vietnam as cover for CIA operations, a lot of professors and researchers abroad had their operations cut back because of this kind of suspicion.

And I also think that it's different -- it's a different level of activity when somebody voluntarily gives the CIA information about what they've seen abroad, and there's a difference between that and operational use, when they are specifically requested to find out information and are used as part of covert operations abroad. And I think that it distorts -- I talked about how it distorts the press in this country. It creates suspicion and mistrust within the universities. And that's -- you know, it's the secrecy part of it that I think is so destructive.

MAN: Well, I wonder if that's really a sufficient reason. I mean, for example, we think in this country as the newspapers who are continually insisting that they have to protect their sources to obtain information, that people won't reveal certain things. Like the most dramatic example is probably the Deep Throat business. And the newspaper people seem to think that they need to protect their sources. Why is it different with the CIA?

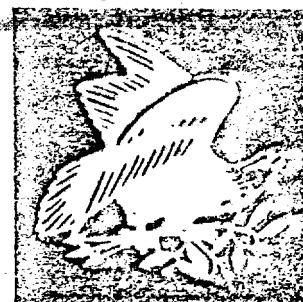
MACY: 'Cause I think it's -- I think it's to protect a source that you know who it is. If it's a government official you know, you can put that into perspective in your actual writing. But if you're given a CIA plant, you don't know who it's coming from, what it means, and it distorts the news in that way.

MAN: Well, maybe you have more faith in newspaper reporters than I do.

FLOOD: I'm afraid our time is up. We will not be able

to get a response to that comment, but I do thank our speakers for being with us tonight.

[Applause]



CENTER FOR NATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES — WASHINGTON, D.C.

Volume 1 No. 1

## CIA'S SECRET WAR IN ANGOLA

*"We are most alarmed at the interference of extra-continental powers who do not wish Africa well and whose involvement is inconsistent with the promise of true independence."*

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger  
September 24, 1975

The United States is today deeply involved in a brutal war in Angola. Like the Vietnamese and Laotian conflicts in their early years, the Angolan war is — as far as the public and most of the Congress are concerned — a secret war run by the CIA. As was true in Indochina, the President himself is making the key decisions. In fact, at about the same time that the Indochina war was finally ending last spring, President Ford personally authorized the CIA to provide covert money and arms to African independence groups in Angola.

Although the Ford Administration has repeatedly stated that the United States will not become militarily involved in Angola, official sources reported on December 12 that the CIA is now spending \$50 million on the Angolan war, and has already sent five artillery spotter planes piloted by Americans into the Angolan battle zones. According to these sources, U.S. Air Force C-141 transport jets, flying in behalf of the CIA, regularly land at the airport in Kinshasa, Zaire (formerly the Congo), disgorging tons of military supplies including rifles, machine guns, light artillery, rocket launchers, and ammunition; these supplies are in turn being flown into Angola by small plane. In addition, the *International Bulletin* reported in its December 5 edition that U.S. mercenaries are now fighting in Angola. David Bufkin, a Vietnam veteran who is recruiting mercenaries in New York, Chicago, and California, has admitted the existence of a nation-wide recruitment effort.

The evidence of large-scale CIA intervention is now clear (as is the intervention by the Soviet Union, Cuba, South Africa, Zaire, and other powers). The CIA's involvement was first reported by Leslie Gelb in the *New York Times* of September 25, 1975. On November 8 and 9, Gelb and Walter Pincus of the *Washington Post* both reported that CIA Director William Colby and Under Secretary of State Joseph Sisco briefed a closed session of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the involvement. An independent investigation by the Center for National Security Studies has now confirmed these reports and uncovered the details of President Ford's decision to send the CIA into action.

### The Decision to Intervene

President Ford was not so much faced with a decision to intervene in Angola last spring as he was with the question of whether or not to support and increase a long-standing covert CIA involvement there. The CIA had been funding the FNLA and Holden Roberto since 1962, according to five different Administration sources. Two other government sources report that Roberto's brother-in-law, President Mobutu of Zaire, started receiving secret CIA funds and other aid soon after Zaire gained its independence in June, 1960. In Angola, like Zaire more than a decade ago, the CIA provides large amounts of secret money and arms to its local allies who are fighting against groups backed by the Soviet Union.

The CIA's involvement in Zaire grew steadily during the Kennedy and early Johnson administrations. During those same years, the policy toward the nearby Portuguese colonies, including Angola, was to "play all ends against the middle," according to an ex-White House aide. This policy meant providing Portugal with some military and political support, and taking a public stance in favor of nonviolent change in the colonies. In secret, however, the CIA subsidized independence groups committed to armed revolution against Portugal, but never with enough support to turn the tide. According to the White House source, "The CIA had the habit of picking out single individuals and making them our guys, somehow assuming they would turn out all right. It was mainly a cash-in-the-envelope kind of thing, conscience money to show American good intentions." The CIA funded various liberation movements from 1960 on, and FNLA's Holden Roberto was a major recipient.

In 1969, the Nixon Administration decided to end the secret "program aid" to the independence groups as part of a larger policy decision to improve American relations with the white regimes in southern Africa (Portugal's colonies, Rhodesia, and South Africa). According to State Department aides, the CIA did not totally drop Roberto but kept him on the payroll as an intelligence source. Five years later,



CENTER FOR NATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES — WASHINGTON, D.C.

Volume 1 No. 2 March, 1976

## PRESIDENT FORD'S INTELLIGENCE PROPOSALS: A CHARTER FOR ABUSE

*"I think a President ought to be accountable. And what we have sought to do in this case is to make the process and the decision-making fall on the shoulders of the President and he will be held accountable by the American people."*

President Gerald Ford  
 February 17, 1976

*"One of the problems, of course, is that all of these proposals are basically incorporated in Executive Orders which are not law and can be changed within minutes. I am far more concerned about what appears to be a strategy to resist true accountability to the Congress."*

Senator Walter Mondale (D-Minn)  
 CBS News, February 18, 1976

On February 18, 1976, President Gerald R. Ford unveiled his program to reform the foreign intelligence agencies. Billed as the "first major reorganization of the intelligence community since 1947," the President's proposals have three separate elements: an Executive Order which outlines charters and restrictions on the intelligence agencies; legislative proposals on secrecy and oversight; and procedures to make the agencies accountable to the President.

The President's Executive Order goes into effect immediately, and his legislative proposals will be the center of congressional and public debate in the coming months. This *Intelligence Report* provides a detailed review of the President's program and its implications.

It should be remembered that the President's proposals were occasioned by revelations of massive illegal domestic activities by each of the major intelligence agencies - the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the National Security Agency (NSA) and the military intelligence agencies. Each of these sponsored extra-legal surveillance programs targeted on Americans. Each engaged in activities — break-ins, burglaries, mail opening, wiretaps — which violated criminal statutes and the constitutional rights of American citizens. These abuses have been revealed in the press and confirmed by President Ford. The President's program represents his response to the revelations.

### EXECUTIVE ORDER: RESTRICTION OR LICENSE?

The centerpiece of the President's program is a 32-page Executive Order which restructures the management of the intelligence agencies and places restrictions upon what they can do. Both the form and substance of the order are of significance.

#### The Use of Higher Orders

Instead of proposing legislated charters and restrictions, the President chose to issue an Executive Order, emphasizing what he called "his constitutional responsibilities" to manage the intelligence agencies. An executive order differs from legislation in several ways. It is not debated publicly in open hearings, but drafted quietly within the executive branch. A formal expression of "superior orders," it provides no criminal penalties for its violation. Moreover, an executive order can be modified with the stroke of any president's pen. If desirable, it can be altered by secret directives about which neither the public nor the Congress need be informed. The President's Order itself confirms, the remainder - particularly the guidelines for NSA - have been issued in secret internal directives.



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15 MAY 1976

# The Washington Star

## CIA Request to Arm Trujillo Foes Cited In Censored Memos

United Press International

A study of censored internal memos and cables shows CIA requests in 1960 to supply opponents of Rafael Trujillo with high-powered rifles with telescopic sights. Trujillo was assassinated a year later.

The memos also discussed blowing up someone or something in the Dominican Republic — possibly Trujillo — and killing some high Dominican official — again perhaps Trujillo — while he was trysting with his mistress.

Censored or partial CIA responses to 74 requests under the Freedom of Information Act were released Thursday by the Center for National Security Studies, a privately financed group.

SOME material went back to 1960, when the CIA initiated plots to assassinate Fidel Castro. Others concerned plans to topple Trujillo, Dominican Republic dictator who was assassinated by local dissidents May 30, 1961. There also was a general contingency plan for killing foreign leaders, titled ZR-RIFLE.

The CIA blew hot and cold on many schemes — first giving approval, then indicating second thoughts or rescinding.

Reports of CIA involvement in Trujillo's death were among the matters investigated by the Senate Intelligence Committee but nothing was ever proven.

Among the items released were:  
 • July 1, 1960, Headquarters memorandum: "It is proposed to procure and deliver to underground opposition force in the Dominican Republic twelve (12) sterile (nontraceable) U.S. rifles, Model 1903 (Springfield), with telescopic sights, together with five hundred (500) rounds of ammunition for same."

LATER messages said the State Department disapproved sending the arms in the diplomatic pouch, although other cables said guns had been shipped that way before.

• Feb. 15, 1961, on plans to blow up in the Dominican Republic. "Will get info soon possible but (CIA officer) thinks original (dissident) plan for action at corners Maximo Gomez and George Washington (streets in the Dominican Republic capital) using high explosive utterly out of question due constant guard that point."

"(CIA officers) view some remote chance place charge in storm sewer draining to sea on George Washington opposite Jaragua Bungalows. This means put radio device under air conditioner in bungalow. If thickness greater than 3 inches, this placement to be excluded . . . will pouch photos . . ."

• March 20, 1961, cable to CIA headquarters from CIA agent in Ciudad Trujillo about an apparent plan for dissidents to kill some top person "with quiet weapons" while he was with his mistress.

"His group . . . plan now this. Group knows identity mistress in capital. He visits her once week or

once in two weeks, goes her apartment incognito and lightly guarded . . . (censored) dressed as Army officers, small group will go to entrance, distract guard with pretext, dispatch him or them in silence, enter apartment and try to (censored) possibly including mistress, in silence."

"To do, they need five M3 or comparable machineguns and 1,500 rounds ammo for personal defense in event firefight. Will use quiet weapons for basic job."

CASTRO, Fidel

CIA 4.01 ZR-RIFLE

CIA 2.05.1 FOIA

~~Original Center for~~  
 NATIONAL Security  
 Studies

CIA 4.01 ASSASSINATION  
 TRUJILLO, RAFAEL

CIA 4 Dominican  
 Republic

E 2776

been found to be a possible cause of damage in laboratory rats," Good guesses. "Should we be using our chi human guinea pigs for these products. Additionally, there are ecologic tions. Preplated lunches use a lot o in processing, refrigeration, transp and freezer storage and there is a p nial waste of foil, cardboard, pla paper.

Pre-plated lunches or pre-cooked meals are being served in schools out the Washington metropolitan a some school districts moving stea satellite feeding programs and resisting the trend.

In the District of Columbia, whi lot of old schools lacking kitchen eq some 20,000 elementary school chi hot-pack lunches each day that h purchased from the Mass Feeding of Chicago. Says D.C. Food Service Joe Stewart: "We've been satisf them and the acceptance level is gave Mass Feeding our specifications for the meals and I can buy these much cheaper than I could produce them locally. They are nutritious."

The dollar savings in satellite feeding programs are undeniable—\$200,000 this year in Arlington County, according to School Food Director Bailey McCreery—but the path to convenience feeding hasn't always been smooth.

In Arlington, for example, where all elementary school meals are prepared at junior high or high schools and shipped preplated, a parent group just last week persuaded the school board to adopt a resolution to vary and improve the school lunch menus.

The group, which ran its own system-wide survey of why the kids weren't eating their lunches, demanded and will presumably get foods that contribute to good eating habits, foods high in protein, fiber, vitamins and minerals. They want excluded from the menu foods that contribute to long range health problems, those high in added sugar, fats, artificial coloring and flavorings.

Montgomery County is switching steadily to satellite feeding programs to save money, even in schools with modern kitchens, and about half its schools have lunches shipped in. One lunchroom in transition, and some turmoil, is North Lake Elementary which in January stopped preparing food on the premises and began shipping in preplated lunches from a nearby junior high.

The PTA wrote to the school board asking questions and expressing concern, but the youngsters make a much more eloquent case for having the old system back in operation. Eating lunch recently with the North Lake youngsters brought forth a barrage of complaints from the kids.

"This new TV food is yucky," one said. "It tastes terrible. They serve green meatballs. Honest. We have to buy ice cream to fill up on."

On this particular day, their complaints were valid. The hot pack, purchased pre-cooked from the Morton Food Co., consisted of six rubbery meatballs in a watery red sauce, along with some corn. It was edible but not very appetizing or tasty. The cold pack had a very good coconut cookie and the mixed fruit was fine. It also contained a rolled tortilla that was as hard as cardboard, tasted like paste and was, for all practical purposes, inedible.

A sampling of elementary school lunches with youngsters at the District's Giddings School and Arlington's Long Branch produced meals about the same. And a menu comparison for schools throughout the metropolitan area shows little variation from the same six or seven basic entree items although some have more variety.

Fairfax County students have the option of choosing a hot lunch or a cold salad-based

McDonald, Larry  
 ORGI Center For  
 NATIONAL Security  
 Studies

ORGI FUND For Peace

Borosage, Robert  
 (originally McDonald)

egg, etc.—available on white or whole-grain breads; juice, yoghurt, fresh fruit, cottage cheese, pizza, stuffed eggs, chef's salad, fruit salad, meat and salad plates and cole slaw.

The dell-bar is operated by Macke on a not-for-profit basis and the company's pay-off is the proceeds from the vending machines. Assistant Principal Steve Gurels says Yorktown is extremely satisfied with the arrangement and the students like it. "Everybody benefits," he said.

While Macke at Yorktown and McDonalds at Benton, Ark., have the same basic operating arrangement, the differences and desirability from a nutritional point of view are obvious. Which of these directions the nation's high school lunchrooms take remains to be seen.

Elementary schools are a different matter. Their direction seems pre-determined and is perhaps irreversible, but that won't stop Mary Goodwin and her supporters from working to halt the trend and push for their ideal school lunch programs. She believes that food can be integrated into the school curriculum at all levels, from consumer lessons to science, anthropology, physics, math and so on.

"Ideally, I would like to see all schools have fresh, regional and local food prepared on site by a well trained staff," she says. "The school kitchen could serve as a learning laboratory on food purchasing, preparation, cooking and service. Children could see whole foods, learn something of the nature of foods."

"The cafeteria manager could come into the classroom for nutrition lessons and consumer topics. This is an excellent way to keep children in contact with the real world rather than a highly mechanized, im-

# LEFTISTS ATTACK BALTIMORE POLICE

HON. LARRY McDONALD

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 21, 1976

Mr. McDONALD of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, during the past 4 years many campaigns have been launched with the goal of curtailing the functions and reducing the effectiveness of our country's police and others of the law enforcement community who with them are responsible for our safety and security. Among those in the vanguard of many of these campaigns have been the Com-

munist Party, U.S.A.—CPUSA—and the Center for National Security Studies—CNSS.

This month, both of these groups have selected as their target the Police Department of Baltimore and a dedicated public servant, Donald D. Pomerleau, its commissioner since 1966.

On May 11, 1976, a Baltimore newspaper featured a six-column banner headline, "City's Anti-Crime Program Hit by Report as a Flop," and in slightly smaller type, "Pomerleau Seen Running 'Fiefdom.'" There followed a non-story worthy of Jack Anderson in which innuendo was piled upon unsubstantiated allegation and nameless sources vented their spleen on the Baltimore Police Department and Commissioner Pomerleau.

The basis for the newspaper attack on the Baltimore police was a draft copy of a report, "Law and Disorder IV," to be published by the Center for National Security Studies—CNSS—122 Maryland Avenue, NE, Washington, D.C. 20002 (202/544-5380) and written by a CNSS consultant, Sarah C. Carey, an attorney associated with the law firm of Cladounas & Brashares.

Funding for the report was provided in part by the New World Foundation, the Fund for Peace, and the Ford Foundation. It should be noted that the New World Foundation, 100 East 85th Street, New York, N.Y., has also funded the notorious Highlander Center, long associated with Communist Party organizing in the South; the youth project which in turn has subsidized the admittedly Socialist Georgia power project and the organizing committee for a fifth estate which was charged by CIA Director Colby with having set up CIA agent Richard Welch for assassination; and the Miseduc Foundation, a front for the National Welfare Rights Organization.

The Center for National Security Studies, as I predicted to my colleagues in a report last year—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, February 20, 1975—has remained in the forefront of those attempting to destroy our security services.

Organized in the fall of 1974, CNSS was and is an activity of the Fund for Peace among whose trustees at that time was a Mrs. Louise R. Berman. And I again draw attention to a summary of her record—Combat, December 15, 1969:

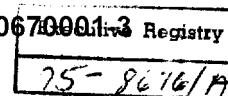
Mrs. Louise Berman, who is also known as Louise Bransten was born Oct. 10, 1908. She is the former wife of Richard Bransten, also known as Bruce Minton, former owner of New Masses. During the water-front strike in San Francisco, Louise and Richard Bransten carried out assignments for the Communist Party, working with Earl Browder and Gerhart Eisler. In 1944 Louise Bransten made a loan of \$50,000 to the People's World, which is the west coast organ of the Communist Party.

Hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities carry much more information, and testimony implicates her in activities of several known Soviet espionage agents. She was, for instance, in contact in Hollywood with J. Peters (also known as Alexander Stevens and half a dozen other names), a leading figure in the underground American CP and in Soviet intelligence work; she was an associate of Steve Nelson, long time Communist organizer and ring leader

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15 OCT 1975

Mr. Robert L. Borosage, Director  
Center for National Security Studies  
122 Maryland Avenue, N. E.  
Washington, D. C. 20002

Dear Mr. Borosage:

Thank you for your invitation of 23 September to speak at a conference on intelligence. As you may have noticed, in recent weeks I have been very heavily involved in public and executive session appearances in the Congress on this subject. I have also tried to respond to other public interest to the degree I could. However, since I did appear at your Center on its last session related to the Agency, I believe that I cannot at this time accept your kind invitation. I am sure that some of the other gentlemen listed on your proposed invitees will be able to handle the matters I would have covered.

Sincerely,

/s/ W. E. Colby

W. E. Colby  
Director

WEC:blp

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25-3676

## Center for National Security Studies

122 Maryland Avenue, N.E.

Washington, D.C. 20002

(202) 544-5380

September 23, 1975

William Colby  
Director  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Langley, Virginia

Dear Mr. Colby:

I write to invite you to speak at a conference designed to consider a range of proposals to reform and control our intelligence-gathering agencies. The conference will be held on November 3 and 4 in Washington, D.C. in a Senate hearing room. It is sponsored by a number of public interest organizations, including the ACLU, Americans for Democratic Action, Committee for Public Justice, Common Cause, Institute for Policy Studies, and others. The conference will be hosted by Senators Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.) and Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.). The Center for National Security Studies is coordinating it.

The conference will feature short presentations of opposing views on different reform proposals, followed by discussion among panelists. A projected outline and list of participants is enclosed.

There are at least two areas in which your participation would be most valuable. One session will be held on the value of espionage as a source of intelligence information, obviously a question crucial to any discussion of limiting or eliminating CIA's clandestine services. The second is the range of enforcement questions: how does one enforce any limitations defined either in legislation or executive directives?

We are willing to make special arrangements for your participation: clearing a time for a formal presentation, providing an opportunity for informal comments or reactions. I realize your schedule is already quite exhausting; if you cannot attend, we would appreciate any names of persons in the CIA - particularly either in clandestine services, intelligence assessment or the general counsel's office (or your new outside attorney whom I know personally to be a fine advocate) - who might participate in the conference discussions. The program this year is set up in pro-con presentations to ensure greater balance than last year's conference.

I am sure that you will agree that an informed public discussion

2.

of these questions is of vital importance at this time, and hope that you will be able to join us. I shall call you later in the week to receive your response. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "R. L. Borosage". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

Robert L. Borosage  
Director

RLB/jda  
Enclosure



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TENTATIVE CONFERENCE OUTLINE: (All speakers tentative unless name is accompanied by an asterisk)

November 3: Monday: First Day

Morning Session: 9:00 - 12:30

9:00 - 9:30 Introduction

9:30 -11:00 Should the United States retain a bureaucracy for covert action?

Yes: Arthur Jacobs

No: Charles Yost\*

11:00-12:30 Is espionage a necessary instrument for intelligence collection?

Necessary to provide "intention":  
Ray Cline

Not generally of great value:  
Herbert Scoville\*

Lunch Break: 12:30 - 1:30

1:30 - 3:00 What guidelines should be placed upon the CIA in the United States?

The Rockefeller Commission Recommendation  
Vice President Rockefeller or his  
designee

'A More Restrictive Program:  
Morton Halperin\*

3:00 - 5:00 What domestic intelligence functions are desirable?

The evolving Justice Department position  
FBI Director Clarence Kelly

Strict limit to criminal investigations  
Former Att Gen Ramsey Clark

November 4: Tuesday: Second Day

9:00 - 9:30 Introduction

9:30 - 11:00 Is legislation necessary to limit agencies strictly or do executive orders and directives suffice?

Executive orders suffice

Legislation is necessary:  
Senator Gaylord Nelson or  
Philip Kurland

11:00-12:30 What can oversight accomplish?

Legislative oversight can be effective  
Senator Lowell Weicker

Legislative oversight is insufficient  
Rep. Michael Harrington\*

Lunch Break: 12:30 - 1:30

1:30 - 3:00 A Program for Personal Criminal Responsibility  
Ralph Nader

Respondants: Philip Lacavora; Ralph Stavins;  
Philip Hyman; Hope Eastman

3:00 - 4:30 A Program for Civil Liability  
Jane Frank

Respondants: John Shattuck; Rhonda Copelon

*MB our copy*

2 October 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence  
SUBJECT : National Security Study Invitation

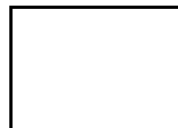
This conference will be held in any event. It may be held with a minimum of publicity because I think everyone will know who these fellows are and how they feel.

If you appear, one thing is certain: it will get a lot of publicity. The TV cameras will be there. You will get some sort of coverage. I don't know whether your message will get across because there may be a tendency to pick up the other guys' message.

You have obliged these fellows once. You showed you had the guts to go down and sit in the lions' den. You made points with the press but did not get a lot of coverage. I don't think a second act of bravado is needed now.

I floated these views Thursday morning at the morning meeting to what I thought was almost total agreement.

You could quite possibly come out of this smelly like a rose as you often do, but I think your nervous energy should be expended in a form that gives you a better break.



Angus MacLean Thuermer  
Assistant to the Director

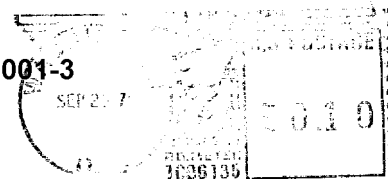
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Center for National Security Studies

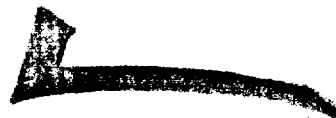
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Washington, D.C. 20002

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William Colby  
Director  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Langley, Virginia ~~22359~~

McLean, Va. 22101



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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

Mr. Robert L. Borosage  
Director  
Center for National Security Studies  
122 Maryland Avenue, N. E.  
Washington, D. C. 20002

Dear Mr. Borosage:

Thank you for your invitation of 23 September to speak at a conference on intelligence. Consistent with my belief that I must respond to public interest in this subject to the degree that security permits it, I accept your kind invitation. In view of my own position and the fact that questions undoubtedly will cover the full range of my responsibilities, I suggest that you may wish to put me toward the end of your conference in order that the questions be fairly well defined by those preceding me. I think this will be more fruitful for your purposes than just my presentation on some narrow subject. I certainly am prepared to be placed in juxtaposition with any other authorities or critics in this field whom you might wish to select.

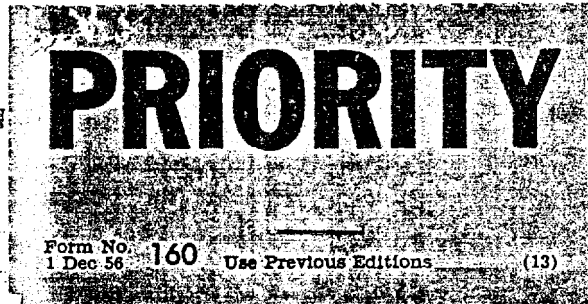
For the details, may I ask that you contact my assistant, Mr. Angus Thuermer, phone number

Sincerely,

W. E. Colby  
Director



Executive Registry  
75-8676/1  
DCI/DIR  
Routing



TO:

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2	DDCI			12 IG
3	S/MC			13 Compt
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5	DDI			15 AO/DCI
6	DDI/Sec			16 Ex/Sec
7	DDO			17
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9	D/DCI/NIO			19
10	GC			20

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Date

Remarks:

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DCI/DIR  
10/2/75

75-8676

## Center for National Security Studies

122 Maryland Avenue, N.E.

Washington, D.C. 20002

(202) 544-5380

September 23, 1975

William Colby  
Director  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Langley, Virginia

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The conference will feature short presentations of opposing views on different reform proposals, followed by discussion among panelists. A projected outline and list of participants is enclosed.

There are at least two areas in which your participation would be most valuable. One session will be held on the value of espionage as a source of intelligence information, obviously a question crucial to any discussion of limiting or eliminating CIA's clandestine services. The second is the range of enforcement questions: how does one enforce any limitations defined either in legislation or executive directives?

We are willing to make special arrangements for your participation: clearing a time for a formal presentation, providing an opportunity for informal comments or reactions. I realize your schedule is already quite exhausting; if you cannot attend, we would appreciate any names of persons in the CIA - particularly either in clandestine services, intelligence assessment or the general counsel's office (or your new outside attorney whom I know personally to be a fine advocate) - who might participate in the conference discussions. The program this year is set up in pro-con presentations to ensure greater balance than last year's conference.

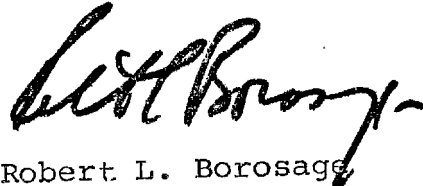
I am sure that you will agree that an informed public discussion



2.

of these questions is of vital importance at this time, and hope that you will be able to join us. I shall call you later in the week to receive your response. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Robert L. Borosage". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

Robert L. Borosage  
Director

RLB/jda  
Enclosure

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TENTATIVE CONFERENCE OUTLINE: (All speakers tentative unless name is accompanied by an asterisk)

November 3: Monday: First Day

Morning Session: 9:00 - 12:30

9:00 - 9:30 Introduction

9:30 -11:00 Should the United States retain a bureaucracy for covert action?

Yes: Arthur Jacobs

No: Charles Yost\*

11:00-12:30 Is espionage a necessary instrument for intelligence collection?

Necessary to provide "intention":  
Ray Cline

Not generally of great value:  
Herbert Scoville\*

Lunch Break: 12:30 - 1:30

1:30 - 3:00 What guidelines should be placed upon the CIA in the United States?

The Rockefeller Commission Recommendation:  
Vice President Rockefeller or his designee

A More Restrictive Program:  
Morton Halperin\*

3:00 - 5:00 What domestic intelligence functions are desirable?

The evolving Justice Department position  
FBI Director Clarence Kelly

Strict limit to criminal investigations  
Former Att Gen Ramsey Clark

November 4: Tuesday: Second Day

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Morning Session 9:00 - 12:30

9:00 - 9:30 Introduction

9:30 - 11:00 Is legislation necessary to limit agencies strictly or do executive orders and directives suffice?

Executive orders suffice

Legislation is necessary:

Senator Gaylord Nelson or  
Philip Kurland

11:00-12:30 What can oversight accomplish?

Legislative oversight can be effective  
Senator Lowell Weicker

Legislative oversight is insufficient  
Rep. Michael Harrington\*

Lunch Break: 12:30 - 1:30

1:30 - 3:00 A Program for Personal Criminal Responsibility  
Ralph Nader

Respondants: Philip Lacavora; Ralph Stavins;  
Philip Hyman; Hope Eastman

3:00 - 4:30 A Program for Civil Liability  
Jane Frank

Respondants: John Shattuck; Rhonda Copelon

Center for National Security Studies  
122 Maryland Avenue, N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20002  
(202) 544-5380

STAT

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September 15, 1975

STAT

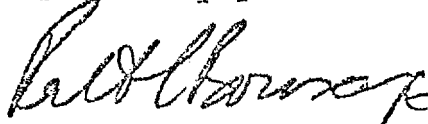
I write to invite you to participate in a conference in Washington, D.C. designed to consider a range of proposals to reform and control our intelligence agencies. Mr. William Bundy suggested that you could provide valuable insights on clandestine intelligence-gathering and covert action. I would like to invite you to speak in favor of the proposition that the United States should retain a bureaucracy for covert action. Charles Yost will present the opposite view. We would also like you to stay at least through the morning of the first day and - at best - through both days of the conference to add your views to the discussions.

The conference is sponsored by a number of public interest organizations, including ACLU, the Americans for Democratic Action, Committee for Public Justice, Common Cause, Institute for Policy Studies and others. The conference will be hosted by Senators Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.) and Mark Hatfield (D-Ore.). The Center for National Security Studies is coordinating it.

We are asking speakers to prepare short papers - no more than 15 pages - for distribution to participants prior to the conference. We anticipate 15 minute oral presentations followed by extended discussion by the conferees.

I think you will share our conviction that a serious discussion is overdue at this time. I hope that you will be able to add your experienced perspective to the discussion. Please call me if you have any questions and to let me know if you can attend. I hope you can join us.

Sincerely yours,



Robert L. Borosage  
Director

RLB/jda  
Enclosure

9:00 - 9:30 Introduction

9:30 - 11:00 Is legislation necessary to limit agencies strictly or do executive orders and directives suffice?

Executive orders suffice

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Senator Gaylord Nelson or  
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Respondants: Philip Lacavora; Ralph Stavins  
Philip Hyman; Hope Eastman

3:00 - 4:30 A Program for Civil Liability  
Jane Frank

Respondants: John Shattuck; Rhonda Copelon

Candid

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"I mean I think the CIA is one of the more un-American institutions in the country. That is, it's secret, it's imperial, it's involved all over the world, it is more foreign to Americans and their ideas of how the country ought to be run and what the country is about than the Communist party."

Borossage, Robert  
Central Intelligence  
National Security  
Studies  
P - COVINGTON, Richard

(orig under  
Borossage)

Robert L. Borossage has been the head of the Center for National Security Studies since it began last September. He does not advocate an end to the CIA, but merely to its covert activities. The Center is an independent research group organized to educate the public in the abuses that have been and are still being committed in the name of national security. It is supported through grants from the Stern Foundation, the Abelard Foundation, and the Veatch Committee. The following article was edited from an interview with Borossage by Richard Covington.

What we saw in Watergate and in Vietnam was that over the last 25 years since World War II, a series of Presidents, both Democratic and Republican, have developed the notion that in national security matters or what they define to be national security matters, they can pretty much do what they will, through various executive agencies, in secret, without really either informing the Congress or the people. And certainly without restraints by the Congress or the people. And for the most part of the 25 years, the Presidents essentially did these activities without fanfare, without claiming the right to them—they just went ahead and did them.

So the Center's concern is to look at presidential prerogative and these claims of national security—look at the abuses that are connected with them and try to set up a series of guidelines that will bring the Presidency back into the boundaries of the Constitution—back into checks and balances.

The first areas of focus have been on the intelligence community. The flood of revelations about the CIA, FBI and the National Security Agency, and military intelligence has revealed that each of these agencies has committed illegal acts or abused their authority and committed surveillance of American citizens which they were really not authorized to do. And kind of lost in the flood of specifics that the CIA contracted with the Mafia, or gave LSD to a citizen and killed him, or series of specifics are the themes that are clear from what we now know.

The themes in my view, are kind of the following: One is that, for the most part, the illegal activities of the military intelligence groups spying on Americans of NSA, of the CIA and of the FBI were not isolated instances of an agent going berserk and exceeding his powers and overreacting to a situation and committing an illegal act. But rather, the extraordinary thing is that they were all full-fledged illegal programs—programs designed by either high level officials in the bureaucracy or by the low level officials, although they're instances of illegality, are not the cause of it.

They weren't isolated reactions to events, they weren't aberrations, they were ongoing bureaucratic programs. So, for instance, military intelligence went from 1967 to 1972 or '73 when they were stopped, and their files included over 200,000 names of American citizens. The CIA—for 22 years that no one knew about—illegally opened the mail of American citizens, against a specific statutory law.

It's not clear that Presidents knew about all this. It's clear that all the CIA Directors knew about it, all the Post Office Directors knew about it, and I suspect the Forty Committee (CIA's executive review) knew about it. It's not clear, really, what was told the President in any of this stuff. We know that Johnson, for instance, ordered all the intelligence committees to focus on domestic dissent around '65-'67, and they all geared up programs to meet the presidential wish. But it's not clear what a President really knows in terms of what comes back to him about what's really being done. That's one theme—that these are not isolated instances, but ongoing programs of illegal activities in each of the intelligence communities.

The second theme goes to the question of control. Church has said that the CIA was a rogue elephant thrashing around in the jungle on its own. But what's clear is that all of the formal controls don't work or haven't worked. That is, legislative oversight was always something of a myth because congressmen didn't want to oversee the intelligence community. But even in those instances where they tried, it didn't work, because the intelligence officials were thoroughly prepared to lie or to not appear before Congress if necessary. So when Ervin, for instance, went after military intelligence and really set out to stop the program with a bill that said they could not spy any longer on citizens, his attempt was thoroughly frustrated. First of all, he could never find out who ordered the program because the two commanding generals refused to appear before his committee, and the Nixon Administration said that they were protected by executive privilege.

Secondly, Ervin got a promise from the defense department that all the documents would be destroyed, that all the computer files would be destroyed. Just this year we discovered that the lists and the names went out to 23 federal agencies before destruction. It came out about two months ago, the revelations. So legislative oversight just hasn't worked even when the overseers wanted to oversee it. Now in the case of the CIA, Congress never wanted to find out anything. They only met once a year. They didn't even know the CIA was carrying on a secret war with 100,000 people in Laos. But that was more a question of will. But even when you have the will, when legislators want something to stop, they can't stop it if the military or the bureaucracy, the secret bureaucracies want to keep it going.



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14 MAY 1975

NEW YORK TIMES

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# New Law Is Dislodging C.I.A.'s Secrets

By NICHOLAS M. HORROCK  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 13—Applications under the Freedom of Information Act are slowly beginning to dislodge documents from the Central Intelligence Agency, and tidbits from the agency's secret files are floating all over Washington.

Among the individuals and groups that have obtained formerly secret documents is Morton Halperin, a former aide to Secretary of State Kissinger who is now with the Center for National Security Studies.

Mr. Halperin has obtained the C.I.A.'s side of the original agreement on responsibilities between the C.I.A. and Federal Bureau of Investigation. The C.I.A. obtained the right to keep contact in the United States with "individuals and groups of foreign nationalities." This was supposedly to permit the C.I.A. to recruit agents from among various emigré groups living within the United States.

Lawyers for the Political Rights Defense Fund have obtained part of a C.I.A. dossier on the Socialist Workers party's Presidential candidate, Peter Camejo.

## Cables Surrendered

The C.I.A. surrendered several heavily edited cables in which it instructed its offices in Bogota, Colombia, and Buenos Aires to keep track of Mr. Camejo while he was abroad. It also submitted several documents apparently based on newspaper clippings and a transcript of an interview that Mr. Camejo had over Havana Radio while he was in Cuba.

Most significant in Mr. Camejo's case was that the agency said it had 81 other documents that it did not have to release under provisions of the law.

John Marks, co-author of a book on the C.I.A. and a former State Department officer, has obtained a secret study prepared by the C.I.A. in September, 1968, called "Restless Youth."

It is an erudite, if conservative, view of youthful militancy and radicalism around the world. There is no question of impropriety in the agency's preparing such a document, and it has offered study papers throughout Government on other subjects.

The paper contained an up-to-date analysis of Students for a Democratic Society and antiwar activities that suggested that it had its own sources of information.

It offered the conclusion that "the Communists can take little comfort from any of this, even though Moscow and its allies may exact fleeting advantage from the disruption sowed by the dissidents."

"In the long run, they will have to cope with young people who are alienated by the more oppressive features of Soviet life," it said.

Richard Helms, former Director of the C.I.A., and other Government officials have said that the C.I.A. began to gather intelligence on domestic dissidents because of concern by President Nixon that the groups might be financed by Soviet bloc intelligence agencies.

The Socialist Workers party was kept under surveillance by the F.B.I. for three decades. It is not clear from the C.I.A. material released last week whether it was privy to the F.B.I.'s files on Mr. Camejo.

An amendment to the Freedom of Information Act that went into effect in February has vastly increased the number of documents that are being declassified. Keeping track of the material has become so big a job that Carrollton Press, Inc., which has several other library services, is now offering a service that obtains, catalogs and examines documents released under various aspects of the law.

Both the C.I.A. and the F.B.I. have felt the full burden of the new law. An F.B.I. spokesman said that the bureau averaged 113 F.O.I. requests a day in April, and that, though the flow had tapered off somewhat, it still had 101 employees assigned to processing the applications.

The C.I.A. has a 50-man complement processing the requests and received 1,600 since Jan. 1. Each request must be searched through the records, the material read and a decision then made on whether the agency must release the document under the law.

Under the amendment to the act, any citizen may apply to a Government agency to discover whether it has prepared a dossier or file on him. Within certain ranges of time or national security, the agency must surrender the file. If it does not, or withholds portions of the file, the citizen may appeal and ultimately get a court hearing.

P-Horrocks, Nicholas

CIA 2.05.1 FOI  
(Freedom of Information)

Halperin, Morton

Org 1 Center For  
NATIONAL Security  
Studies

Camejo, Peter  
Marks, John

~~Org 1~~  
CIA 7.02 FOI

## CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

# CIA student study of '68 raises new questions

By C. Robert Zelnick  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

At least three years before covert domestic activities were curtailed, a CIA study on student dissidents concluded, "There is no convincing evidence of control, manipulation, sponsorship, or significant financial support of student dissidents by any international Communist authority."

This newspaper has learned the finding was contained in a 1968 study, "Restless Youth," undertaken by the Central Intelligence Agency. The 41-page document was released by the agency following a recent Freedom of Information Act request by the Center for National Security Studies.

The findings tend to contradict recent assertions by top agency officials that domestic surveillance activities conducted into the early 1970s were designed to determine whether anti-Vietnam war movements on American college campuses were receiving financial assistance from Communist governments abroad. Critics have charged that such activities had more of a political than informational component.

Observers note that the study raises further questions concerning the agency's possible role in domestic counterintelligence activities prohibited by law.

### Goals analyzed

The document includes extensive analysis of the goals and organizational techniques of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), a left-wing domestic group that had its roots in the campus anti-war movement in the mid-1960s.

Regarding the financing of SDS, the study concludes: "SDS militants travel continually at home and abroad — to Cuba, Europe, and the Far East. They pay their own expenses wherever possible and probably count on financial assistance and lodging from parents, relatives, and friends. While abroad they presumably receive similar help from local student organizations or, in Cuba, from the Castro government."

Despite their disillusionment with many aspects of American life and what the agency described as a "disturbing" acceptance of

violence as a technique of social change, the CIA concluded that most student radicals of the 1960s tended to reject Communist authoritarianism as fervently as capitalist conformity.

The paper concluded that while the Soviets and their allies could find "fleeting advantage" from domestic disruption sowed by the dissidents, "in the long run, they will have to cope with young people who are alienated by the more oppressive features of Soviet life."

### Involvement assessed

The CIA further concluded that as of 1968 only some 120,000 of the nation's 6.3 million college and university students were involved in "student protest." The estimate included many whose central allegiance was to the civil-rights struggle rather than the anti-war movement.

Those involved in active anti-war protest tended to have higher grades than their less-involved contemporaries and to attend the more prestigious institutions of higher learning, according to the study.

The report also cited studies concluding that many of the "hippies" or social dropouts were children of middle-class Republican families, while those gravitating toward military-political activities were mostly children of liberal but "establishment" Democratic homes.

Both groups seemed as hostile to authoritarian communism as to American political values, the study indicated.

P-Zelnick, C.

Robert

CIA Study

CIA 3.03 Restless Youth

CIA 2.05.1 Freedom of Information

ORG 1 Center for National Security Studies

CIA 4.01 Domestic Spying

8 APRIL 1975

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# CIA's 'ball of wax' melts

By ALAN HIGBIE

and  
BRIAN BRANAGAN  
of the Cardinal Staff

The CIA sent at least one intelligence officer to the University "spot potential people to recruit," according to former high-ranking CIA operations officer Phillip Agee.

Agee said that L. Keith Gardiner, a CIA operations officer in exile during the mid-1960's, told him in early 1972 he was being sent to the University of Wisconsin the agency in the fall of 1972. He was apparently the first Deputy Directorate of Planning (DDP) officer to be sent back for higher university study.

UNIVERSITY RECORDS show that Gardiner received a Master's degree in Ibero-American Studies May, 1973.

When phoned at his Falls Church, Va. home for comment, Gardiner said, "I'm sorry, I just can't talk about it without undoing the whole ball of wax."

Agee is the author of CIA Diary, a personal history of covert activities undertaken by the CIA in Latin America. He said Gardiner was sent to Paris in 1972 by former CIA Director Richard Helms to discourage him from writing the book. Agee and Penguin Books have not yet published the book in the U.S. because they fear it will be censored.

Agee wrote of Gardiner's visit, dated January, 1972: "I decided to develop a bluff that might convince the Agency that there is nothing they can do to stop publication of the book. I told Keith that I have completed an over-sized draft that I am now editing down to appropriate size—the truth being that I have completed less than one-third of my research..."

"Gardiner told me that in September of this year he will enter the University of Wisconsin for a Master's Degree in Latin American studies—the first time a DDP operations officer has been sent for higher university study that either of us can remember. Then, again pointedly, he asked if I might reveal his name so as to expose him at the university. I assured him I wouldn't. He suggested that while studying he keep in mind the possibility of

joining the fight against the CIA and American imperialism."

CONTACTED IN Cornwall, England, Agee said, "There have been others that have been sent, other than Gardiner, to infiltrate university area studies departments. They study there so they can do the work in their assigned area that much better—they are also assigned to spot potential people to recruit for the CIA. Not necessarily as career people, but that would be included."

He said Gardiner's value to the CIA during his stay in Madison would be as much in "spotting" as in academic work.

Doug Porter, of the Fifth Estate (a CIA watchdog group), said the CIA has made an attempt in recent years to utilize university area studies programs as a cover because the old State Dept. cover "is wearing thin."

He added that the new academic cover could serve two purposes. "It will give the CIA an entry into field of information that they can't get at Langley (CIA headquarters), and allow them to watch for potential recruits and dissidents among the foreign students," Porter said.

The Center for National Security Studies said approximately 75 per cent of the State Dept. Foreign Service Reserve officers during the 1960's were CIA intelligence officers.

GARDINER is identified in the Foreign Service List as a Foreign Service Reserve officer (FSR), serving in the political section of the U.S. Embassy in Brazil from Nov., 1962 through late 1966, with several return trips to the U.S. from 1967 through 1970. There is no record of his activities from 1970 to 1972.

The State Dept. Personnel Office lists his resignation date as August 5, 1972. However, Gardiner claims he is still working for the State Dept.

Most of Gardiner's professors and classmates that were contacted said he was a very good student who spent a lot of time studying.

Political Science Prof. Alexander Wilde, who said on Gardiner's MA committee, said,

"He was a well-informed but I can't remember him anything that would wonder where he got formation."

"HIS POLITICS were would suspect from a Socialist type—pragmatic and it wasn't a hard-line, right Prof. Maurice Zeitlin that Gardiner "showed that he belonged to the then if he was a man shouldn't."

He added that he Gardiner at several American Association "I'm damned sure that every Latin American before he left," Zeitlin

Mike Gudger, a student specializing in American studies, remember much about "except that he seemed particularly well informed Brazilian military."

DON JACKSON, classmate, when in Gardiner's apparent filiation, said, "I believe it." He said that the department was probably vulnerable to CIA infiltration because of the CIA's involvement in Latin America. "He came across as being pretty liberal, a pretty smart guy... and a pretty poor tennis player. That's about all I knew about him," Jackson said.

Gardiner would make no comment on questions relating to the CIA or his relationship with Phillip Agee. He said he was presently a State Dept. employee and as such had had "some contact in Latin American affairs, but I don't think that's pertinent."

When asked if his tennis game has improved since he left Madison, Gardiner laughed and replied, "I guess it's still as bad as it was."

Gardiner's record places him in Brazil at the time of the military overthrow of the democratically elected Joao Goulart government.

AGEE SAID, "I don't know just what Gardiner did. When he went to Rio (Nov., 1962), that was during a period of very great and fast and furious build-up of the CIA all over Brazil for the 1962 election operation, where we backed hundreds of candidates.

"And then for all the propaganda and agitation and political actions leading up to the overthrow of Goulart in March of

Doi Hingberg, Alan

P- BRANAGAN, BRIAN

CIA 104 Agee, Philip

Org 1 University of Wisconsin

CIA 104 GARDINER, L.

Keith  
CIA 101 Helms, Richard

Porter, Doug

Org 1 Fifth Estate

Org 1 Center for Natl.

Security Studies

CIA 4 Brazil

(orig under Higbie)

the operations which are jointly undertaken by those services," Agee speculated.

The assistant press secretary for the CIA said it was not unusual for any federal agency to send employees to universities. "If you're trying to treat this as a super secret operation you're on the wrong track. I'm sure that there are people from the Dept. of Defense, the Pentagon, and probably the CIA at your university right now."

DEAN OF STUDENTS Paul Ginsberg said there was no formal University admissions arrangement with federal agencies. He said, "The only time the University would know if a student was being sponsored by a federal agency would be if a grant were administered through the normal University agencies: And I would be very much surprised if any admissions people would check foreign service records or anything like that. Just academic records determine eligibility."

Ginsberg said he did not foresee the University changing that policy.

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Hinkel, John V.

Org 1 American  
Security Council

CIA 2-05-1 Freedom  
of Information Act

Org 1 Center For  
National Security  
Studies

The Barn House  
RFD 2 Box 141  
Middleburg, Va. 22117 (orig under  
Hinkel)  
28 March 1975

Mr. John V. Hinkel  
American Security Council  
1101 17th St. N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Hinkel-sahib,

It was good of you to send in the enclosures to  
your note of 13 March which I am very late in  
acknowledging.

I can confirm to you that with my name plastered  
all over those pamphlets, I have a full In-Box.

Many thanks and best regards.

Sincerely,

/s/ Angus MacLean Thuermer

Angus MacLean Thuermer

mb

CIA 1.01 Colby, William  
— 3 speeches —

P-Mc Donald, Donald  
SOC 4.01.1 Center  
magazine  
ORGI FUND FOR the  
Republic

24 March 1975

ORGI Center For  
the Study of  
Democratic  
INSTITUTIONS

ORGI Center For  
NATIONAL Security  
Studies

(orig under Colby)

Mr. Donald McDonald  
Editor, The Center Magazine  
Box 4068  
Santa Barbara, CA 93103

Dear Mr. McDonald,

Thank you for your letter of March 6 addressed to  
Mr. Colby.

We all appreciated seeing the text of his remarks.  
Could you be good enough to send us three or four more.  
I would like to be sure that we have some in our historical  
intelligence collection.

I am taking the liberty of enclosing three further  
statements Mr. Colby has made. You may find them of interest.

Sincerely,

SIGNED

Angus MacLean Thuermer  
Assistant to the Director

mb  
Encs.

ILLEGIB

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—From *To the Person Sitting in Darkness*

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Ron Young  
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**FRIENDS OF THE FILIPINO PEOPLE**

235 East 49th Street, 3rd Floor  
New York, NY 10017

**Friends  
of the  
Filipino  
People**

"I see no reason why American taxpayers should be expected to shore up so many military dictators all over the world with dollars and guns."  
—Senator Alan Cranston (D. Cal.),

from a speech on the Philippines, delivered to the Senate,  
April 12, 1973.



## WHY THE FRIENDS OF THE FILIPINO PEOPLE?

Since the declaration of martial law in the Philippines 23 Sept. 1972, many people in the United States have been alarmed about the growing repression in that country and continued U.S. involvement there. With this in mind, representatives from ten eastern seaboard cities held a conference in Philadelphia on 20 October 1973 and founded the "Friends of the Filipino People" (FFP). The conference approved an essay outlining the main concerns of FFP, based on four central points of unity, and set guidelines for a nation-wide organization.

### ANOTHER VIETNAM?

Today the situation in the Philippines is remarkably similar to Vietnam a decade ago. Will the Philippines be the next "Vietnam?" This is the central concern of FFP.

On 23 September 1972, President Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law in the Philippines, imposing a dictatorship on the Filipino people. Since then the "showcase of democracy" in Asia has become a military state alongside South Vietnam and South Korea.

The dictatorship in the Philippines depends upon economic and military aid from the U.S. Because opposition to the regime is growing, and there is open rebellion in parts of the Philippines, Marcos is seeking additional U.S. military assistance.

A major purpose of the FFP is to inform the American people that such aid carries with it the threat of another U.S. war against an Asian country. Already, U.S.-trained pilots have flown U.S.-made planes<sup>1</sup> on bombing missions against peasant guerrillas; and the U.S. military has been involved in counter-insurgency activities.<sup>2</sup> Even though Americans want no more "Vietnams", and Washington, no doubt, will be wary of getting into another Asian war, the strategic and economic importance of the Philippines is so immense—far greater than South Vietnam ever was—that the potential for escalated intervention is considerable.

### THE UNITED STATES IN THE PHILIPPINES

Whereas U.S. involvement in Vietnam goes back only to the 1940's, U.S. interests in the Philippines date from the late 19th century. At that time, a U.S. war against the Spanish Empire coincided with the Filipino revolt against Madrid's 300-year-old rule. In an informal alliance with the Filipino nationalists, Admiral Dewey sank the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay, while the nationalists drove the Spanish land force into the city of Manila. Then,

instead of honoring the Philippines' newly declared independence, the U.S. negotiated with Madrid to take the place of Spain as the colonial power. A bloody three-year U.S.-Philippine war ensued which strikingly resembled the U.S. war in Vietnam 60 years later. After suppressing the Filipinos, the U.S. made the Philippines an American colony.

The U.S. established its new Asian colony for a variety of reasons, a central one being the potential economic importance of the archipelago, not only as a base for the China market, but also as a source for raw materials and a market for U.S. goods and investments. These reasons prevailed over strong opposition led by an American anti-imperialist league.

Though in 1946 the U.S. ended formal colonial rule, it soon became clear that this represented little change in American involvement. As a strategic location for 22 U.S. military installations in the Pacific, including two major bases, Subic Naval Base and Clark Air Field, both heavily used in the wars in Indochina, it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the Philippines to U.S. policy in Asia.

The Philippines also remains an economic ally tied to the U.S. After "independence", U.S. business interests strengthened their hold on the Philippine economy through a parity amendment to the new Philippine constitution. This amendment, which was literally forced upon the Philippines, gave U.S. citizens equal rights with Filipinos to own and exploit the country's land and resources. Today, 800 U.S. companies in the Philippines hold or represent investments of between two and three billion dollars. Research reveals that U.S. investors own over one-third of all business assets in the country,<sup>3</sup> extracting high profits which drain off the nation's wealth. All of this led to increased popular discontent and a revival of Philippine nationalism that the Marcos martial law has attempted to suppress. One of President Marcos' first moves after declaring martial law was to suspend the previous legislation and Supreme Court decisions that tended to weaken and nullify the parity arrangements by 1974. Following this, Marcos also granted oil exploration rights to several American oil corporations, an act that earlier laws had prohibited.

U.S. military and business interests have, therefore, an important stake in the survival of the Marcos regime or some other anti-democratic rule. As the Filipino people increase their opposition to the Marcos dictatorship, there is the real possibility that the U.S. government may drag the people of the U.S. into another war against an Asian people.

## MARCOS' MARTIAL LAW AND US INVESTORS

After his declaration of martial law, the American Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines wired Marcos: "The American Chamber of Commerce wishes you every success. . . we assure you of our confidence and cooperation." (*The Philippines Information Bulletin*, Sept. 1973)

According to one U.S. oil man, "Marcos says, 'We'll pass the laws you need—just tell us what you want'." (*Business Week*, Nov. 14, 1972)

### WHAT YOU CAN DO

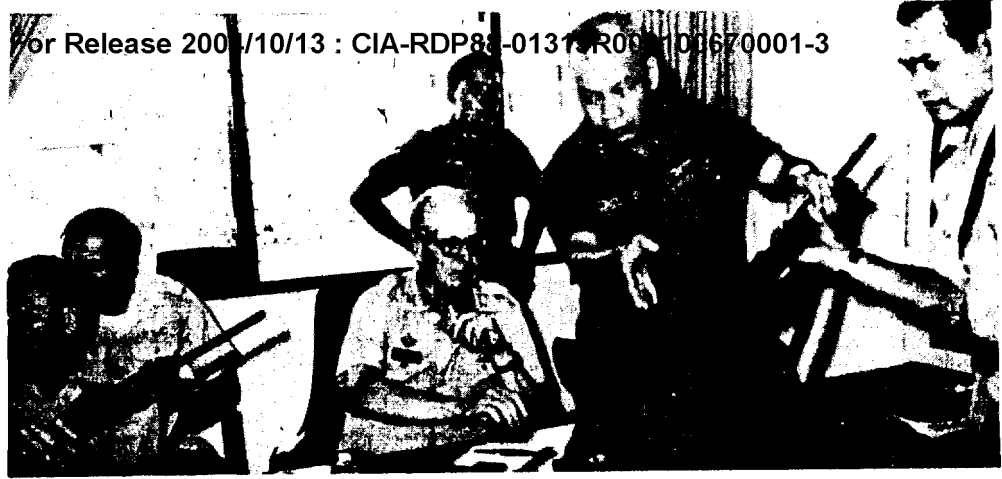
The U.S. government has been interfering in the affairs of the Filipino people for over 75 years. If you think it's time to call a halt and if you agree with the four points of unity, you are invited to join Friends of the Filipino People and help with its work of education and action.

### POINTS OF UNITY

1. We seek an end to United States support to the Marcos dictatorship.
2. We seek an end to United States military and political intervention in the Philippines.
3. We condemn the long standing domination of the Philippine economy by United States corporations which has been a major cause of the continued poverty and underdevelopment of that nation.
4. We support Filipino people in their efforts to secure full independence and freedom in their country and social and economic justice in the United States.

1. FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW, 4 May 1973, 2 July 1973
2. "The Moveable War", Tad Szulc; THE NEW REPUBLIC, 12 May 1973  
"Whitewash on the Green Berets"; THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN; 11 Sept. 1973
3. "The Political Economy of a Coup"; Robert Stauffer; JOURNAL OF PEACE RESEARCH  
"The Philippines: American Corporations, Martial Law, and Underdevelopment"; CIC study (IDOC, Nov. 1973); p. 11

U.S. "advisers" help Philippine officers of the Marcos dictatorship inspect arms captured from Filipino Muslim insurgents.



## STOP U.S. MILITARY AID TO THE MARCOS DICTATORSHIP IN THE PHILIPPINES

On Sept. 22, 1972, President Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law in the Philippines and established a military dictatorship. Marcos has disbanded the legislature, ended elections and deprived the Filipino people of their basic democratic rights of free speech and assembly. **Since 1972 the regime has imprisoned over 20,000 political prisoners.** Concentration camps throughout the country are filled with workers, peasants, journalists, students, priests, nuns, political opponents and businessmen—democratic Filipinos from every walk of life.

Despite Marcos' propaganda that he runs a "just" dictatorship, the facts about torture and political executions are fully documented. **Last year Archbishop Jaime Sin of Manila was moved to publicly protest these outrages.** He described the case of one young Catholic picked up as an example by the secret police, whose body was later "found, mangled beyond recognition and bearing marks of diabolical torture."

Just as in Vietnam, the terror of Marcos' attempts to "pacify" the peasants has affected millions of people. Hundreds of thousands have been forcibly relocated away from their homes, while whole villages have been suddenly wiped out by air strikes.

### PREVENT ANOTHER VIETNAM WAR!

Necessarily, the Filipino people reacted to this dictatorship with increasing anger and opposition. Each year the democratic resistance has grown—from nuns holding protest vigils at prison gates to peasant guerrillas in the countryside. This resistance, however, is a direct threat to the U.S. Military-Industrial Complex, **which has a far greater stake in the Philippines than it ever had in Vietnam—\$2-3 Billion in investments and over 20 military bases manned by 16,000 U.S. servicemen.** Marcos, whose task is to protect these U.S. interests by banning strikes for higher wages, demonstrations, and trying to crush all democratic and nationalist opposition, has therefore always enjoyed the support of the U.S. Government.

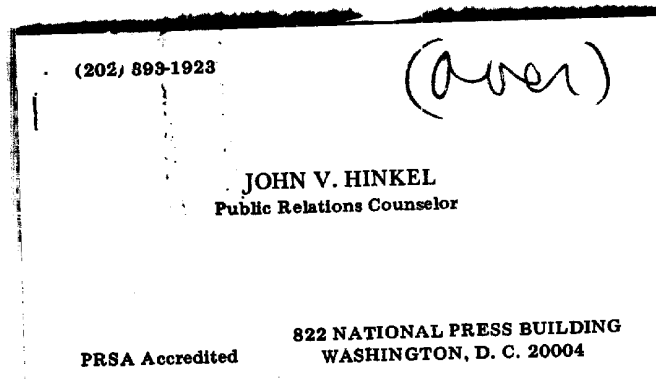
U.S. Senator James Abourezk (D-South Dakota) has revealed that Philippine police sent to the U.S. for training have been instructed **by the C.I.A. in torture, bombing and other terror techniques.** The U.S. A.I.D., Public Safety Program, has been spending an average of \$1 Million each year on communication systems, vehicles and other equipment for the police—including "retraining" every single policeman in the Philippines.

This year Marcos' Armed Forces will get \$51.8 Million from American tax dollars, including jets, bombs and an entire new M-16 rifle factory. **Strikingly similar to the situation in the early Vietnam years, U.S. "Green Berets" of the 1st Special Forces Group based on Okinawa are carrying out missions in the Philippine countryside.** Marcos' Air Force flies some of its bombing raids out of the giant U.S. Clark Air Force Base in Luzon. Now, the Ford Administration is asking for **even more aid to Marcos, in spite of a recession throughout the U.S. and cut-backs in services desperately needed by poor working people.**

**We call on the American people to support the struggle of the Filipino people for a just and democratic society. We can start by demanding that Washington cut off all U.S. military aid to the Marcos Dictatorship.**

FRIENDS OF THE FILIPINO PEOPLE  
KATIPUNAN NG MGA DEMOKRATIKONG PILIPINO  
NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE RESTORATION  
OF CIVIL LIBERTIES IN THE PHILIPPINES

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF FILIPINOS IN THE U.S.  
PHILIPPINE INFORMATION BULLETIN  
SEATTLE SEPT. 22nd COMMITTEE



10 MARCH 1975

Dear Angus:

The enclosed were distributed at an International Women's Day celebration 8 March 1975 at West front of U.S. Capitol.

- They may be of interest. Sincerely,  
John V.H.

ORGI Center for  
NATIONAL Security  
Studies

Hinkel, John V.  
(orig under ORGI)

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# Leftists Seek To Curtail U.S. Security

By Paul Scott

Washington—Those increasing attacks against the Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation are an integral part of an over-all campaign to drastically curtail every aspect of U.S. national security.

The well-financed campaign is being orchestrated by the left

Scott

leaning Center for National Security Studies (CNSS) which has its headquarters near the nation's capitol.

Heavily loaded with antiwar activists, radical leaders, and former far-left government officials, the CNSS is run by Robert L. Borosage, a young Washington attorney and active member of the National

Lawyers Guild who was formerly with the radical Institute for Policy Studies.

Key consultants or associates of the group include Morton Halperin, a one time staff member of the National Security Council and a former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense and one of those subject to a 1959 national security wiretap, and John Marks, once an assistant to the State Department's director of intelligence and coauthor of an anti-CIA book with former CIA employee Victor Marchetti.

The CNSS's power flows from its members contacts within the Administration, the Congress, the press, and private foundations. The Stern and Field Foundations, noted as supporters of radical and far-left causes, already have pumped more than a quarter of a million dollars into the operations of the CNSS.

Another financial backer is the Fund For Peace (FFP), which has been working to disarm the U.S. since 1969.

The CNSS launched the attack against the government's security and intelligence agencies last September with a two day forum led by Richard J. Barnet, a founder and codirector of the Institute for Policy Studies, and Daniel Ellsberg, former Defense Department radical who stole several thousand government documents involving U.S. participation in the Vietnam war.

The principle theme of the conference was that the President and Congress must dismantle or drastically curb the government's covert intelligence and security operations.

THE ATTACK PLAN—Circulated at the meeting was an CNSS document revealing the larger scope of the organization's campaign against all government security and intelligence programs.

It stressed that the CNSS had set up projects to monitor all intelligence and security operations of the CIA, FBI, the military services, and the activities of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

An immediate objective of the group is to force all government agencies to end their surveillance of far-left radicals and their foreign contacts including communists.

One of CNSS's top Congressional supporters, Rep. Bella Abzug, D-N.Y., recently called on President Ford to destroy files the CIA has compiled over the years on American radicals and their foreign connections. This is another goal of CNSS.

Government security informers, who infiltrated the CNSS, report that its members are now working with ultra-liberal members of Congress and the press to try to discredit the CIA and FBI and force these agencies to end many of their security operations.

The findings of the informers have been circulated within the Ford Administration since October 1 but until recently the reports failed to attract any attention outside of the government's security agencies.

ORG 1 Center for National Security Studies  
Borosage, Robert L.  
Halperin, Morton  
Marks, John  
CIA 1.04 Marchetti, Victor  
ORG 1 Stern & Field Foundations  
ORG 2 Fund For Peace  
Barnet, Richard J.